THE MANY WORLDS of Homer P. Clark

Virginia Huck

PRESENTED TO

Brewster Ladies' Library

BY

Helen McGregor

Brewster Ladies' Library
Brewster, Mass.

THE MANY WORLDS
of
Homer P. Clark

by
Virginia Huck

Research Associates
Carmen Billings, Virginia Brainard Kunz, Terri Nye

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FOREWORD

Shortly after Homer Clark's death in 1970, a number of his friends and associates advanced the idea of a biography of this remarkable man.

However, it remained for Mr. William Marvin, a former West Publishing Company Vice President, and Mr. Russell Fridley, Director of the Minnesota Historical Society, to put those ideas into action. Sufficient money was raised to enable the Minnesota Historical Society to secure an author and sponsor a research grant. The Historical Society has also reviewed the manuscript at its various stages.

We are pleased to publish the book as a tribute to Mr. Clark's unparalleled contribution and association with our company.

Lee H. Slater
Chairman
West Publishing Company

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CHAPTER ONE

Homer Pierce Clark
Man of Many Worlds

E WAS CAST IN THE MOLD of great men, wrote a friend to the Clark family when Homer Pierce Clark died in 1970.

No one who knew Clark well would disagree. His percipience, his unfailing concern for the welfare of others, his outstanding accomplishments, integrity, and vision—these add up to greatness by any definition.

Ironically, few people outside of Homer P. Clark's own spheres of activity knew who he was or what he did. An unassuming, even shy, man, he sought no acclaim for his efforts and shunned the public eye. His satisfactions came from knowing he did his work well.

Like many others of great stature, Clark moved easily and effectively in many different worlds, exploring new ideas and savoring diverse experiences in each. He was

richly blessed with friends, success, love, and respect in each world, and he treasured all blessings greatly and equally.

Only one small failure marred his record, yet that one failure, when he was nineteen, was perhaps the most exciting, colorful experience in his long life. He learned many valuable lessons from his homesteading attempt in the pineries of northern Wisconsin in 1889.

Clark chose his worlds carefully, limiting himself, he said, to the few he felt best fitted to serve. His few would represent more than most of us could master; he was to leave his mark in business, politics, amateur sports, government, and civic affairs.

With the exception of family life, the business world absorbed most of his attention. He served as president and chairman of the board of West Publishing Company, president and board member of Waldorf Paper Products Company (now Champion International Corporation), board member of the St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company (now St. Paul Companies), and as a Class C and B director of the Ninth Federal Reserve District. His involvement with each lasted decades.

Interesting incongruities mark Clark's life in his other worlds. In politics, though an acknowledged power behind the scenes in the Minnesota Republican Party for nearly fifty years, he never ran for political office or accepted a political appointment, and his name appears in no history of Minnesota politics. At one point, he turned down one of the highest honors his party could offer—membership on the National Committee of the Republican Party. During his long service to the Republicans he helped select and elect many governors as well as a host of lesser office holders. He spent long hours as unofficial adviser to Minnesota lawmakers and U. S. Congressmen.

In sports, though slight of build, short, and slightly handicapped by a limp, Clark sailed, played tennis, golfed, curled, and made a very creditable showing in many regattas and tournaments. He actively (and financially) furthered the cause of both amateur and professional sports in St. Paul. He and his friends were responsible for bringing lawn tennis to St. Paul in the late 1890s, and

his family built one of the first tennis courts in St. Paul at the corner of Holly and Arundel. He was an avid baseball fan, often attending out-of-town games of the Millers, and he kept close track of the Twins when he was older and could no longer attend games.

In the realm of family life, although Clark did not marry until he was forty-one, and did not start a family until six years later, he enjoyed sixty years of married life and raised five children. During his twenty-plus years as an eligible St. Paul bachelor, there were many, including his mother, who thought he would never get married!

In the world of civic affairs, Clark helped thousands by his fund-raising efforts, but few of those he helped even knew his name. Because he preferred it that way, no one will ever know the true extent of his donations and efforts. One can only guess that he raised millions of dollars for various causes and donated thousands upon thousands of his own dollars to agencies and needy individuals. He was equally generous with his time. Clark contributed countless hours and ideas to the Community Chest (now the United Way), the Capitol Approach Commission of the thirties and forties, the Hill Reference Library, the Red Cross, the Ramsey County Courthouse and City Hall Commission, the St. Paul Curling Club, the Federal Reserve Board, and countless lesser commissions and committees, including several in Brewster, Massachusetts, his ancestral home.

What were the personal and working philosophies of this great man? One family member suggests that the Latin motto, *Esse quam videri*—"To be rather than to seem"—best sums up Homer P. Clark. He cared about the essence of matters, not appearances. He was a simplifier: Find the essence, plan carefully, get the point across. He intensely disliked affectation. He felt that individuality was lost when you pushed everyone into one power grouping or mold and believed in looking for and encouraging the best in each individual. He respected each individual for the contribution he or she was making to society. "Not everyone needs to make money or be famous," he would contend.

Clark had a strong sense of social concern, one far greater than most. He wasn't guilty of "Do as I say, not as I do," but rather, set an example of doing what he believed was right and hoping people would follow it. He admired demonstrated ability, not college degrees. He could keep a secret. He wanted people to stand on their own feet and learn to handle their own affairs. He felt that there was no one who was infallible. "Everybody needs to be checked by someone else," he often said.

Clark's life spanned 102 years of tremendous change in his city, state, and country, change often chaotic and always interesting. But he was not one for reminiscing as he grew older. Perhaps he would illustrate a point with a story from the past, but to dwell on yesterday was not a habit. Not that Clark couldn't have told fascinating tales, for he lived during the colorful years of early St. Paul and Minnesota. He did tell his family about the fires he saw consume the state capitol and other historic buildings . . . of watching St. Paul build the first spectacular Winter Carnival ice palaces . . . of seeing the never-to-be-forgotten "iron trains" rumble steadily in and out of St. Paul bringing thousands of hopeful immigrants . . . of Sitting Bull visiting St. Paul.

Other things he could have told about were his school days at Madison Elementary and St. Paul High School with children and grandchildren of Minnesota's famous pioneers—the Rices, Ramseys, Sibleys, Forepaughs, DeCosters, Gotzians and more . . . about Montgomery Ward building a huge store in the sparsely settled Midway district, and the building of a new Ford plant in Highland which meant new jobs and more prosperity . . . about Summit Avenue pushing its way to the Mississippi, windswept and unpaved at first, crowded and tree-shaded in later years.

He saw it all and lived it all from a childhood in the 1870s to his days as a septuagenarian, octogenarian, and finally centenarian.

When Clark was born in 1868, the country had resumed its westward push. Railroad lines laced the eastern states and were stretching west to St. Paul, Minneapolis, and beyond. Steamboats crowded the Mississippi, carrying

settlers up the river from Prairie du Chien, LaCrosse, and Galena. St. Paul was a small but fast-growing town built on a series of ledges rising up from the banks of the Mississippi. These natural landings and the barriers of rapids and St. Anthony Falls upstream combined to make St. Paul, for all practical purposes, the head of navigation on the Upper Mississippi.

On their way north and west, most new settlers passed through St. Paul in search of their new homes, and Homer Clark's parents were among them in the 1870s. Charles and Martha Clark arrived from Boston in 1871 with Homer, three, stayed a short while in St. Paul, returned east, then came back to St. Paul to settle permanently in 1873. It was to be Homer Clark's home for the rest of his life.

Through all of the changes that took place all around him during his 102 years, Clark adjusted to each new era, becoming an integral part of it. He welcomed change and more often than not precipitated it and participated in it. Only in his personal life was he to prefer the manners and mores of the nineteenth century. Brought up in the best Victorian traditions, he never relinquished his preference for them.

Throughout his life, Clark's philosophical principles remained constant, but he always welcomed new ideas and technological progress. Friends tell of his ability to change with the times and meet new challenges. These people call Clark a "man for all seasons," as well as a man of many worlds. He planned his own path and followed it. He was modest but exerted quiet authority, wise in great degree; kind, but firm when necessary; generous to a fault.

All regret that he drew a curtain around his private life; they would like to have known his family better. His silence on family matters puzzled everyone and caused a few to think him secretive and enigmatic. He was neither, as the reader will see in the chapters that follow.

One world of Clark's not mentioned as yet—and one of utmost importance to him—was the world of his New England ancestors. These hardy pioneers from England left him a treasured heritage and footsteps to follow. He

did his best to emulate the traits shown by the courageous sea captains that bore the family name. It was with great and justifiable pride that he passed on family legends to his own children and grandchildren.

We begin the biography of Homer Pierce Clark with the world of these New England ancestors, the world which, without doubt, inspired Clark to a great degree in the setting of his own life style.

CHAPTER TWO

The World of Ancestors

HOMER P. CLARK'S ancestors were keenly interested in genealogy and by the time he appeared on the scene, his American ancestors, at least, were well researched and documented. He was not very old before he heard stories about the Clarks—all New Englanders—who were daring sea captains, selectmen, land owners, and entrepreneurs, and about the Pierces of Boston who also came from England and were, for the most part, merchants.

From the Clark genealogy he learned the values and ideals which had guided each generation—total integrity, industriousness, full patriotism to their new country, and high courage, especially in the face of adversity. And all were very private persons in the strong New England tradition, shunning publicity and supporting their chosen causes quietly.

When Clark's children were old enough to be interested, he often talked about his admiration for these traits and what these early Americans had done to help make America great. (Clark almost never explained the philosophical or spiritual foundations on which his own conduct was based, but these were made clear by his pointing out the traits and accomplishments he valued in others, including the Clark ancestors.)

Two or more of Clark's ancestors were among the Mayflower Pilgrims. One was Elder William Brewster, minister and ruling elder for whom the town of Brewster, Massachusetts, was named (Brewster was incorporated in the home of Homer Clark's great grandfather Isaac Clark); the other was Thomas Clark(e), who may have served as first mate on the *Mayflower*.

Of the line of Clark(e) sea captains which stretched unbroken from Thomas the Pilgrim through Andrew, Thomas, Seth, Kimball, Isaac, and Lot (Homer's grandfather), Homer Clark particularly admired two: Thomas the Pilgrim, and Isaac. (Thomas Clarke the Pilgrim and his sons spelled their name with the final "e," but it was dropped by many of the family in the third generation.)

The name Thomas Clark(e) is still shrouded in some mystery for genealogists but there are many proven facts about this man. It is known that he was born in England in 1599 and came to America to start a new life; that he sailed from England to America on the ship *Anne*, arriving in 1623 in Plymouth, and that he brought with him substantial property, including cattle. It is also known that he married Susanna Ring of Plymouth in 1634, and that there were children from that marriage who stayed in the colonies and carried on the Clark name.

As mentioned above, Thomas may have been, at the age of twenty-one, the first mate named Clark who served the *Mayflower* westbound, and also on her return voyage to England after she provided living quarters during the first winter at Provincetown and Plymouth.

This was the time for Pilgrims when

> Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation, . . . they had now no freinds to

wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weather beaten bodys; no houses or much less townes to repaire too, to seeke for succoure. . . . savage barbarians . . . were readier to fill their sids full of arrows than otherwise. . . . And for the season, it was winter, and they that know the winters of that cuntrie know them to be sharp & violent, & subjecte to cruell & feirce stormse, deangerous to travill to known places, much more to serch an unknown coast. Besids, what could they see but a hidious & desolate, wildernes, full of wild beasts & willd men? And what multituds ther might be of them they knew not. . . . which way soever they turnd their eys (save upward to the heavens) they could have litle solace or content. . . .[1]

Whether or not Thomas Clarke was the first mate on the *Mayflower* and endured such conditions was not the accomplishment Homer Clark spoke of with such great admiration. His warmest praise was reserved for Thomas's part in securing a free enterprise system for the Pilgrims after they had nearly starved under a form of enforced communism. Thomas's role, though not included in Bradford's *History of Plimoth Plantation*, has come down through the family in the following story.

When Thomas arrived at Plymouth on board the *Anne* in 1623, he found that the communal system imposed upon the Pilgrims because of their agreement with the merchant adventurers was causing great hardship. The previous year the Pilgrims had been so starved that they were too weak to take proper care of their crops. (Added to this, Homer Clark told his family, was the natural inclination of the young bachelors to go turkey shooting when the communal duties became too dull!)

Bradford describes the plight of the Pilgrims:

So as it well appeared that[2] famine must still insue the[3] next year allso, if not some way prevented. . . . So they be-

1. Bradford, William, *Bradford's History "of Plimoth Plantation"* (Boston: Wright and Potter Printing Co. State Printers, 1898), pp. 94–95.

2. y ᵗ in the original.

3. y ᵉ in the original.

gane to thinke [1623] how they might . . . obtaine a beter crope than they had done, that they might not still thus languish in miserie. At length, after much debate of things, the Gov^r^ (with the advise of the cheefest amongest them) gave way that they should set corne every man for his owne perticuler and in that regard trust to them selves; . . . And so assigned to every family a parcell of land. . . . This had very good success; for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corne was planted than other waise would have bene by any means the Gov^r^ or any other could use, and saved him a great deall of trouble, and gave farr better contente. The women now wente willingly into the field, and tooke their litle-ons with them to set corne, which before would aledg weaknes, and inabilitie; whom to have compelled would have bene thought great tiranie and oppression.

The experience that was had in this cõmone course and condition, tried sundrie years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanitie of that conceite of Platos & other ancients, applauded by some of later times;—that the taking away of propertie, and bringing in cõmunitie into a comone wealth, would make them happy and florishing; as if they were wiser than God. For this comunitie (so farr as it was) was found to breed much confusion & discontent, and retard much imploymet that would have been to their benefit and comforte. For the yong-men that were most able and fitte for labour & service did repine that they should spend their time & streingth to worke for other mens wives and children, without any recompence. The strong, or man of parts, had no more devission of victails and cloaths, than he that was weake and not able to doe a quarter the other could; this was thought injuestice. . . . And for mens wives to be commanded to doe servise for other men, as dresing their meate, washing their cloaths, &c., they deemd it a kind of slaverie, neither could many husbands well brooke it. . . .[4]

The change from a communal to a free enterprise system was immediately successful and Bradford related how, that fall,

By the time harvest was come . . . the[5] face of things was changed, to the rejoysing of the harts of many, for which

4. Ibid., pp. 152, 162–163.

5. y ^e^ in the original.

they blessed God, And the effect of their particuler planting was well seene, for all had, one way other, pretty well to bring the year aboute, and some of the abler sorte and more industrious had to spare, and sell to others, so as any generall wante or famine hath not been amoungst them since to this day.[6] . . .

Understandably, the Pilgrims wanted to be free from the necessity of ever going back to the communal system which had proved so disastrous to them. To assure that freedom, it was necessary first to pay back what was owed to the merchant adventurers in London and thus be allowed to manage their own economic affairs.

Half the Pilgrims had died during the first winter. As yet the number of colonists was very small. In fact, only a handful of ships had made their way to Plymouth. It was not until 1630 that the population reached 1,000.

Despite their small numbers, the Pilgrims were ready by 1627 to pay back their indebtedness and earn their economic freedom.

Homer Clark believed that if Thomas Clarke and the other Pilgrims who saw the absolute necessity for free enterprise had not been successful in this mission, the very life of the colony would have been in great jeopardy. Homer was greatly impressed by the lesson Thomas Clarke and the other Plymouth colonists learned—that forced collectivism, even among "godly and sober men," was found "to breed much confusion and discontent and retard much imploymet that would have been to their benefite and comforte," whereas, on the other hand, freedom brought great and widespread benefits.

Homer Clark believed deeply in helping one's fellow man, but was convinced that this should be done voluntarily and not through coercion. Certainly this belief affected his political and economic views, but its importance was equally far-reaching in his personal contacts. He took great pains to avoid giving direct orders. Instead, whether he was dealing with members of his family, with business associates, or with members of the

6. Ibid., p. 177.

community, he used stories, questions, or discussions to allow the person to come to his or her own responsible conclusion. Sometimes he would wait as much as a year for the best time to help an associate or family member reach an appropriate conclusion.

He worked to avoid unfair coercion either on the part of management or labor. Feeling that opportunity should be open to all, he made it a West Publishing Company policy that close relatives of management personnel should not be allowed to take key management positions. This banning of nepotism encouraged able people in the company to work for deserved promotions.

Like Thomas Clarke, Homer Clark resisted collectivism, especially when it was associated with coercion.

Family members remember how their father, when driving them from Boston to the old Clark house in Brewster, Massachusetts, where they spent their summers, stopped at Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth to show them the china mug and leather wallet bearing the name of Thomas Clarke in the collection of relics. If his children would listen long enough, Homer Clark would tell the story of how Thomas helped secure the financial freedom of the Pilgrims and how he later served in the Great and General Court (legislature) of Massachusetts and for forty-three years as deacon of Plymouth Church.

The children preferred a trip to Burial Hill to see Thomas's gravestone, one of the four earliest colonial markers to be found. (Early burials had been secret to avoid letting the Indians know how many deaths the Pilgrims had sustained.) The marker for Thomas reads:

> Here lyes buried ye body of
> Mr. Thomas Clarke aged 98
> years. Departed this life
> March 24, 1697.

The quality most admired in the other of his favorite sea captain ancestors, Isaac Clark, the sixth in the line

of Clark sea captains, was the ability to sacrifice self-interests for the good of others.

Isaac Clark was born October 10, 1761, on Cape Cod in the north precinct of the town of Harwich which was later incorporated as the town of Brewster. The signing of the papers for the incorporation took place in the Georgian house that Isaac built in 1799.

Like his four brothers, Isaac went to sea early and served on a privateer during the American Revolution.[7] Three times he was taken prisoner by the British. On the prison ship *Jersey*, he was often so hungry that in later years he was pained to see even a grain of corn or a crumb of bread swept into the hearth fire.

When the Revolutionary War ended, Captain Clark returned to his own seafaring life, as did four of his brothers. In 1789 he married Temperance Sears and one of their sons was Lot, Homer P. Clark's grandfather.

After the war, Captain Isaac Clark wanted to be the first merchant ship to fly the flag of his new country into the White Sea to the Russian port of Archangel. The voyage was one of his highest adventures. He knew the British would take measures to keep American vessels out of Arctic trade and he outfitted a ship as quickly as possible after the war and set sail for Archangel, one of Russia's northernmost ports.

When he finally reached Archangel after a long, wearying voyage, complications developed immediately. Russian authorities asked how he expected to receive clearance papers as he was no longer a British subject and the American consul had not yet arrived in Archangel. Since freezing weather threatened to ice in his

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7. In the family papers is an invoice on cargo from one of the sea trips made during Revolutionary years. The cargo referred to was carried by Captain Isaac Clark aboard his sailing ship *Financier* from Savannah to Rotterdam. The invoice, dated March 25, 1776, in beautiful penmanship, lists the entire contents of the boat's cargo: "INVOICE OF Seven hundred & fifty four whole and ninety one half Barrels Rice and Twelve thousand white oak hogshead staves, Shipped by Isaac Clark on board the Barque Financier, commanded by said Clark and bound for Rotterdam on the proper Account & risque of Mr. Eben Parsons of Boston, sole owner of said barque and consigned to the Master."

ship for the duration of a long Russian winter, Isaac rushed to St. Petersburg (now Leningrad), obtained his papers through the newly established American Embassy, and returned to Archangel by sledge. The return journey was frustratingly slow, leaving Captain Clark little time in Archangel to secure a cargo before the harbor was completely blocked by ice. Consequently he loaded the first available cargo into the ship's hold. The wide Russian timber he found served as ballast for his ship but was hardly a commodity in demand in New England. Back at Cape Cod, he stored this unprofitable cargo until 1799, when he built the handsome Georgian house overlooking Smith Pond, which still remains in the family.[8] (Captain Clark's Brewster house was handed down in the family through one of his daughters and was a popular gathering place in decades to come for many Clark relatives.)

In the early 1800s, Isaac Clark served as selectman of his town for eight years, a position which remains the chief office of the form of government still used in Brewster and in most Cape Cod towns.

As he performed his duties, Isaac became concerned that the way of life of the north precinct and the south precinct of Harwich was very different, even though the men of both precincts made their living from the sea. Wychmere Harbor on the south shore of Cape Cod provided a port for small coastal fishing vessels so that the men in the south precinct could return easily to land. The North shore, on the other hand, offered no harbor at all; in fact the tide retreated nearly two miles twice a day—farther out than at any other spot in the United States, leaving a series of sand bars known as the "flats."

In a move to give north precinct citizens closer control over their own affairs, which differed so much from those of the south precinct, two towns were created, Har-

8. According to family records the west front chamber of the house was upholstered with Russian chintz brought home by Captain Clark from one of his voyages. He also brought an immense Russian sable muff and a pelerine (woman's cape) of the same fur for his wife; smaller sable muffs and boas for his daughters and friends; and a tablecloth of Russian linen which was eventually owned by Homer Clark's father, Charles Clark.

wich and Brewster. On February 19, 1803, papers effecting this division were executed in Isaac Clark's house. The stains which are on Isaac's desk are said to have come from the quills of some Harwich men who, before signing, shook their pens in objection to the division.

On May 12, 1803, Isaac Clark was unanimously chosen by the townspeople to represent Brewster in the Great and General Court of Massachusetts. He was elected "with great unanimity, several [11] successive years."

In 1803, there were more masters and mates of vessels hailing from Brewster than from any other port in proportion to population, according to Samuel Eliot Morison, in *The Maritime History of Massachusetts.* Such was the skill and daring of Brewster men at sea that a larger proportion of them became sea captains than in any other town in New England. Brewster was left largely a town of women for well over a century. In fact, when a library was later established by a Clark relative, Augusta Mayo, and her friend Mary Cobb, the library was named and remains, "The Brewster Ladies' Library." [9]

The voyages of Brewster sailors to Europe and around the horn of South America to China lasted as long as two years, a long time for the women to carry on alone.

Soon after the incorporation of Brewster, the economy of the seafaring town was grievously threatened by an embargo against shipping which was aimed at the British.[10] (Wags spelled "embargo" backwards and called it "The dreadful monster, the O GRAB ME.") In 1808 Isaac Clark and two other townsmen were appointed to "set fourth the grievances of the inhabitants of the

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9. In the twentieth century the Massachusetts legislature allowed both men and people from outside Brewster to be members of the library. A man was even allowed to be treasurer after the death of the faithful woman treasurer who had at one time presented her treasurer's report in the form of a poem.

10. President Jefferson, a man of peace, urged passage of this embargo act in 1807. The act forbade American ships to sail for any foreign ports. He hoped this would force Britain and France, which were at war, to respect the neutral rights of American shippers.

town of Brewster" to those in power both at the Commonwealth and national levels.

In a lengthy document the men of Brewster made the following appeal (a memorial voted at a meeting of the town on January 23, 1809, and excerpted here):

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in General Court assembled:

The inhabitants of the town of Brewster respectfully represent that . . . the general sterility of the soil lead them to the Ocean . . . as the field, which God and nature have prescribed for their enterprise . . . and have been accustomed to consider the improvement of it as their birthright —the restrictions upon this privilege by the several embargo laws enacted by the government of united states excite surprise too great for description . . . —we had flattered ourselves that the Government of our own country would not unintentionally become our greatest foe. . . . Your memorialists are ready with their lives and fortunes to encounter the hazards and expense of warfare when duty requires. They are willing to bear in common with their fellow Citizens any justifiable measures which may be adapted to prevent an appeal to arms—but the restrictions now put upon our Commerce are conceived to be beyond all proportion burdensome to your memorialists and almost single them out as victims for destruction. . . . Having in vain attempted by every peaceful method to arrest the blow—having in vain petitioned for exemption from destruction, we now turn our eyes and lift up our supplicating voice to the more immediate guardians of the Commonwealth. Self defence, the first law of nature, and compassion to our families . . . forbid us to be silent respecting the continuance of an act which is emphatically pregnant with mischief both to the property and the morals of the inhabitants—an Act, which . . . unnerves the arm of diligence and cuts off its future supplyes. When . . . our children cry for bread, and we have none to give, the feelings of nature will not be controled—if peace cannot consistently with duty and honor be preserved with other nations—let us meet the foe with arms in our hands; for we esteem any mode . . . of defence infinitely preferable to a system of starvation with ruin at our doors . . ., we beseech, conjure, and implore your honorable body to interpose

your influence by all constitutional and suitable means to obtain a redress of the oppressive grievances under which we suffer—and as in duty bound will ever pray.

Committee of Safety: Majr Elijah Cobb, Freeman Foster, Isaac Foster Junr., Doct. Jos. Sampson, Isaiah Clark, Abraham Winslow and David Nickerson.

The economic embargo failed, however, and Jefferson's successor, President James Madison, was provoked into declaring war by British highhandedness on the high seas. This prompted the Brewster people to send a second memorial, this time to President Madison, and signed by Selectman Isaac Clark and a second selectman, urging an end to the embargo and pointing out the unreasonable dangers to which the women left behind in the town of Brewster would be subject while the men were at sea and in danger of being captured. The memorial read as follows: [11]

The inhabitants of the town of *Brewster* in the county of Barnstable and state of Massachusetts, in legal Town meeting assembled on Monday the 20th day of July, 1812, respectfully represent,

That when our most valuable earthly interests are at stake, we trust it will not be considered as an act of rebellion to exercise the privilege granted us by the constitution of this Commonwealth which asserts that "the people have a right in an orderly and peaceable manner to assemble to consult upon the common good"—as the more immediate Representatives of the people are not now in session, we feel impelled by the present exigency of the times to address ourselves during the recess of both houses in Congress, to the supreme executive of the Union, whose duty it is to look with an impartial eye upon every section of the United States, and whose inclination we hope will lead him to listen to the petitions of each portion of the citizens who peaceably demean themselves, since if one member suffer every member must more or less suffer with it.

Although we constitute but a small and inconsiderate portion of the community, yet bearing in mind that as mighty

11. From "Memorial to the President of the United States," *The Columbian Centinel,* July 20, 1812.

rivers are composed of smaller tributary streams, so the voice of numerous small societies contribute to an expression of the publick sentiment, we are encouraged to address the Chief Magistrate of a free people, from an idea that he would wish to ascertain the publick opinion.

We presume not to be versed in the more intricate and arduous duties of legislation, but upon subjects that come home familiarly to every man's bosom, and vitally effect our essential interests, we trust we shall be excused if we deem it the privilege and duty of free citizens to inquire and judge of publick proceedings—and we indulge a hope that no *suspicion of treason* will be attached to us if we frankly express our disapprobation of measures which our publick agents may think proper to adopt when those measures are of such a ruinous nature as we cannot in conscience approve. . . .

Under this painful conviction we beg leave respectfully to state that feeling in common with our fellow citizens in other parts of the Union a deep interest in whatever may effect the prosperity and happiness of our country we cannot view with unconcern the awful crisis that has befallen our beloved country by a declaration of war with Great Britain—a crisis for which we appear to be so greatly unprepared. Convinced that war at any time and under any circumstances is an evil which cannot fail seriously to affect a nation, we had flattered ourselves that our rulers would not have resorted to so destructive a measure at *this time* and with that power which in all probability can do us the most material injury.—Consternation and astonishment accompanied the tidings of this declaration of war.

In attending to the *reasons* for the present state of warfare as exhibited to our view by publick documents, we lament that they do not furnish to our minds satisfactory evidence of its prosperity. . . .

We ask leave in conclusion to state that about three fourths of our townsmen depend on the sea for the means of subsistence for themselves and families. By the resent declaration of war more than one half of that proportion is liable to fall into the hands of the enemy with a large proportion of their property, and many of their wives and children may thereby be reduced to extreme poverty. We would be permitted further to remark that out of this large proportion of seamen belonging to this town, we have but *four* detained by foreign nations. . . . Judging from this circumstance, and from our own personal observations in other cases we cannot believe it necessary to enter into war for the protection of seamen, at this time more

especially when we consider that a much greater number thereby must be inevitably exposed to captivity without previous warning—Nor can we believe it necessary or expedient to engage in war for the protection of our commercial interest, while our merchants have property to so large amount afloat and in foreign countries. We feel it therefore most strongly incumbent upon us by all lawful and constitutional methods to seek for a speedy termination of the present war, by the restoration of a safe and honourable peace, and as in duty bound shall ever pray.

The foregoing Resolves & Memorial were accepted unanimously by the town, and it was voted that the Selectmen sign the same for and in behalf of the town, and the Town Clerk to attest the same.

ISAAC CLARK, THOMAS SEABURY } *Selectmen of Brewster.*

A true copy—ATTEST,
Brewster, July 20, 1812.

JOSEPH SMITH, *Town Clerk*

Just as predicted, the British did capture Brewster seafarers and the safety of the inhabitants of the town was threatened. One threat came in the form of a letter from the British commodore R. D. Raggett, of His Britannic Majesty's ship *Spencer*, commander of a British squadron in Cape Cod Bay off the coast of Brewster:

To the Select Men of Brewster
and Proprietors of the Salt Works of that Town

Gentlemen:

It being my intention to retaliate as far as lays in my power, the conduct of the American Forces towards the defencelefs Towns in Upper Canada–

I call upon You, to come forward with a contribution for the preservation of your Salt Works, which as I consider of great public utility, will be otherwise destroyed.

I have desired the officer in charge of the Flag to demand the very moderate Sum of 4,000 dollars as a contribution, to guarantee their future safety, and which, if not immediately complied with or a hostage forwarded till the Sum be produced, will be deemed sufficient cause for my proceeding instantly to put in execution my promised Threat. . . .

At this point, the townspeople turned to Captain Isaac Clark for advice. The salt works were not only an important American industry but provided the livelihood for many people. Serious as the threat was, however, Captain Clark advised against paying the contribution and counseled trying to stand off the king's men.

But in the end, Captain Clark was outvoted. There would be no resistance. The money would be paid, the salt works saved, and the inhabitants would trust Commodore Raggett to exact no further tribute from the town.

In an action characteristic of his life (and much admired by Homer Clark), Captain Clark put aside his own opinion and agreed to go along with the majority. He then wrote an agreement to be co-signed by Commodore Raggett and Brewster officials, which read (in part) as follows:

> Articles of Agreement made & concluded by and between Richard Raggett Esq. Commanding his Britanic Majesties forces in the Bay of Boston for himself & his successor on the same station on the one part—and Isaac Clark, Thomas Seabury and Elkanah Freeman a Committee from the Town of Brewster for themselves and in behalf of the inhabitants of Said Town on the other part—Witnesseth, that whereas for the valuable Consideration of four thousand dollars paid by the said Isaac Clark, Thomas Seabury & Elkanah Freeman . . . I do hereby guarantee the safety of the salt works—dwelling houses and all other species of Buildings. . . .
>
> . . . and I do also hereby guarantee to the Inhabitants of Brewster that I will not in future land any hostile forces nor my Successor in Said office within the Limits of Said Town of Brewster during the Present War. . . .

Out of the $4,000 paid, Captain Clark paid $3,000 because there seemed no other way to raise the money. Citizens of surrounding towns refused Brewster's appeal to shoulder some of the burden, and the Great and General Court of the Commonwealth was not interested in assisting.

Payment of such a large sum impoverished Isaac Clark to the extent that he could no longer afford to be captain

of his own ship (and indirectly may have cost him his life). Accordingly, he and his son went to sea as mates on another ship. As it turned out, this was to be Captain Clark's last voyage.

During the trip he wrote one of his daughters that the "voyage is not profitable, that it will bring no golden eggs, and that the family must look to God in his Grace to provide the things that are needful."

Captain Clark and one of his sons died of fever off the coast of Africa.

Captain Clark's son Lot settled in Boston and entered the import business. Lot's son Charles Henry worked for another Boston importer, Samuel B. Pierce, and married his daughter, Martha Cowper Pierce.[12] Charles and Martha were Homer Pierce Clark's parents.

Henry A. Castle's 1912 history of *St. Paul and Vicinity* recounts that Charles H. Clark "gained an enviable position in the influential circles of the city." According to Castle, Charles Clark first became identified with St. Paul during its pioneer period when it was a small town of the Northwest, and though he was away from the city a few years, "his career was practically identified with this city from the early days, until the city became one of the most important in the west." The success Charles Clark won, wrote Castle, "was due to his ability and persistent industry."

The union of Charles and Martha is, of course, the real beginning of the Homer Pierce Clark story. Because of the many family letters kept throughout the years by various members of the family, we can begin our story with the years just prior to the marriage of Charles and Martha. Theirs is the saga of a young couple used to a genteel, cultivated family life, who pioneered in a raw and rough village in Minnesota—St. Paul, a town inhabited by a strange combination of wealthy (and poor) Easterners, European immigrants, and a few American Indians. The Clark family adjusted amazingly well and prospered in the pioneer atmosphere.

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12. Born in Boston, Massachusetts, on December 14, 1837.

CHAPTER THREE

The World at Home

HOMER CLARK'S parents, Charles Henry Clark and Martha Cowper Pierce Clark, had much in common when they became engaged in Boston. Both came from large families where love and respect for one another prevailed. Both had distinguished colonial backgrounds. Both young people had a desire for adventure away from their Boston homes. This mutuality undoubtedly was a factor in their happy, forty-one-year marriage.

The Pierces of Boston and the Clarks of Brewster and Boston had been friends for many years when Charles and Martha became engaged. That they knew each other is clear from a remark in a letter written by Charles's sister Anna to their sister Carrie, dated June 24, 1860, in which Anna says, "We rode over to Cambridge with

Martha Pierce and her brother Homer for a Class Day program."

Martha and Charles wrote many letters to each other and to their families during their marriage (1866–1907) and these have formed the basis for much of this record. They were young people with quite different personalities but mutual goals: to live a cultivated, unselfish, and industrious life, caring not only for their own family but for others less fortunate. Judging from his letters, Charles was a quiet, even-tempered, conservative family man striving hard in business but not always succeeding. Martha's letters reflect a woman with an unusual will and courage, and a keen observant eye. She had to be constructively busy, spending her energies in managing her home and supporting the activities of Unity Church, the Unitarian church in St. Paul.

Both cared about propriety; both displayed a lack of sentimentality, though one suspects in Charles a more demonstrative nature while Martha more nearly took after her practical father.

A high-spirited young lady, Martha was brought up in the careful manner appropriate for a Boston girl from a family of comfortable means. Her mother, Hannah Homer Pierce, emphasized good manners, proper dress, and appreciation for her cultural heritage. She also saw to it that Martha acquired the skills necessary to manage a household with or without a household staff. Her father, Samuel B. Pierce, urged common sense, shrewdness in business affairs, and thrift.

Martha's uncle, Sydney Homer, had a great deal of influence on her upbringing also. He took a sincere interest in her and was evidently one of her favorite relatives. A specific example of this interest in her intellectual development is a letter written to her from Barcelona, Spain, March 16, 1856. Martha was in her teens at the time.

Dear Martha:

I was glad to receive your letter of January 22nd . . . and it was gratifying to me that you did not regard it as

satisfactory to yourself, as this showed capacity for better things; but why not make it better—you could have told me of the books you read, or better still of the thoughts you think—have you no inner life, separate from the outward daily pursuits, or even from the events of outward life—do you never think, who am I, what am I, whither do I tend—you have health and ability, and will naturally desire to attract and secure the love and respect of some person of character.

This cannot be permanently done, without some corresponding traits on your part; so do not let the Spring of your life pass in vain pursuit of things as vain—should it be your lot to become the friend of ability, or should either of your brothers arrive at distinction, you would be glad that by early training, you could fill the part of companion to them and their friends; if on the other hand, poverty should overtake you, you would feel the benefit of knowing how to do something, and in any event of life, you will 'find knowledge its own sweet reward.' . . . above all, learn to think and practice the habit of thinking for yourself, not only of such things as are adapted to your sex, but also such as concern even the world; history, business, politics, and the art of expressing yourself neatly, clearly, and with kindness. I want to see you an honor to yourself, and to your family. I am sure you have the ability if you will only exercise it. . . .

Sydney Homer

Martha treasured this letter and was very successful in following its advice, spending a lifetime studying history, thinking out problems, and learning to handle her financial affairs. Interestingly, sixty-nine years later, the letter was published in the December 27, 1925, Sunday bulletin of the First Parish Church of Dorchester, Massachusetts (the Pierce family church), as a "revelation of sound sense [which] will be particularly useful in the making of New Year's resolutions." A copy of the letter had been given to one of the ministers, the Reverend Lyman Vincent Rutledge, by J. Homer Pierce, Martha's brother.

The Pierces were very successful with their daughter Martha. She could rise to any occasion with grace, wisdom, and courage. She knew how to make money, spend it wisely, and save it. She founded the Women's Work

Exchange in St. Paul, a place where women could bring their handwork to sell, and she devoted much time to agencies set up to help the underprivileged and the wayward. Several times in its history, she raised money to keep the Unitarian church in St. Paul solvent. Charles Clark had also helped this church financially in the 1850s when it was trying to organize.

Martha's skills, especially her financial abilities, were to serve her in very good stead both in prosperous and hard times during her long marriage and life in the frontier town of St. Paul, Minnesota.

A deep sense of privacy was one of her New England legacies, a right she cherished fiercely. Once she was thoroughly upset because her attorney's secretary had kept on file a carbon copy of one of her personal accounts. "My affairs," she admonished her lawyer, "are not for public viewing!"

Though an obedient and cooperative daughter, Martha occasionally differed with her mother. One of their small clashes occurred when Martha went to Europe in June of 1862. Friends reported to Mrs. Pierce that Martha, on the boat going over, had taken the hoops out of her skirts and "looked somewhat untidy and unfashionable." When Mrs. Pierce took her daughter to task in a letter, Martha's independence and common sense surfaced quite clearly. On June 20, 1862, from England, Martha wrote her mother:

My Dear Mother:

. . . I am very sorry that people were not satisfied with my appearance, but throughout the voyage we went much more for comfort than for looks and I am very glad we did so. . . . Our clothes became very much soiled, particularly stockings, but it was no good to put on clean ones every day, for they were just as bad if the soot came over onto the deck, but without hoops we were not exposed at all. As to a bonnet, it would have hung in my room all the way and at Liverpool I went the first thing to get a hat. We can wear our bonnets all we want and then not have the trouble of carrying a hat. . . .

Martha's and Charles's adventures away from home started about the same time, when they were past twenty, but Martha's were in one part of the world and Charles's in another and their experiences were of quite a different kind. Martha accompanied her father on a business trip to Europe during the Civil War. There he introduced her to the treasures of Europe and to his influential friends while he took care of purchasing European china for his Boston import store. Charles's adventures took him westward in 1855 to the raw, tiny frontier town of St. Paul, Minnesota Territory, where he got a job with his cousin, Charles Edwin Mayo, in Mayo's hardware store.

Martha's European experiences were described in great detail in letters to her family. (Such letters were a "trademark" for Martha. All of her life she was to record her observations in detailed but unembellished prose in letters to friends and relatives.)

Of her 1861 ocean voyage she wrote, "In London, it is difficult to think how far away we are, but it does not look like such a mountain to cross the ocean now as it did before starting."

She made many observations about the people she saw and met: "Many people have baby carriages wide enough to hold two children . . . . they do not teach children so thoroughly in arithmetic and geography as we do in Boston. . . . Father's friends, the Edwards, have little idea of what America is. Boston is 'in America,' What state? 'The United States.' . . . the little children next door are all dressed in black, black dresses, stockings, socks, gloves, black straw hats. I think white would look much better."

One of Martha's most pleasant adventures was meeting two bachelor brothers, both over sixty, who entertained her and her friends lavishly. She wrote home:

> Mr. Richard Haywood, the younger, showed us all over. We saw some very old china, and some vases dug from graves which were buried before the time of Christ.
>
> I must tell you about the tea . . . the table was laid with handsome china and silver and an elegant silver waiter, as

large as the china one at home. There were two kinds of . . hot cakes, cold bread and butter, currant bread, preserves, cold tongue, blanc mange in strawberry preserve, a dish of snow—or white of egg flavored—cake, oranges . . . a splendid bunch of Hanebury grapes . . . then champagne. . . .

Their dining room was very handsome—a procelain chimney piece with elegant bronzes, old paintings, a very large mahogany sideboard, lace curtains at the bay window.

In London, Martha found the "extreme politeness and style" of everyone quite amusing. She urged her family "not to be too anxious for I think I shall come home all right and without either an Englishman or Frenchman."

When Charles's adventuresome spirit took him to the Minnesota Territory to join his Boston relative and friend, Charles Edwin Mayo, St. Paul was little more than a cluster of frame buildings perched on the banks of the Mississippi River, but the territory was living up to its advertisements of offering "scenic beauty unparalleled," and "an opportunity to make money or start a fresh life." People were pouring in from the East and other parts of the nation, as well as from Europe, to make their personal fortunes in the new territory, which was about to become the thirty-second state in the Union.

Charles Clark and Charles Mayo were not among the young men destined to become rich, but they did make an adequate living. Both found time to devote to the civic development of St. Paul. Charles Clark helped found the St. Paul Unitarian church, beautified St. Paul's east side by planting many elms, and was instrumental in the development of Roselawn Cemetery. He was in the hardware business for thirty years and in real estate twenty years. Charles Mayo was to earn an outstanding reputation as a scholar and tireless civic worker, serving as an executive officer of the Minnesota Historical Society, an institution founded in territorial years, and was both recording secretary and president of the St. Paul Library board of directors.[1]

1. Historian Henry A. Castle, in 1912, wrote of Mayo, "In all the benevolent work and in all the charitable organizations in the

In the 1850s when Charles Clark and Charles Mayo were getting their hardware business started, the village of St. Paul was an exciting, if sometimes dangerous, place to be. Murder and robbery were so frequent that a vigilance committee had to be organized and the police force increased to twelve men. So interesting were events that Mayo wrote his own news letter to send to friends and relatives back in Boston. Copies of it are on file in the Minnesota Historical Society.

Speculation in real estate was wild and extravagant. (A financial panic was just ahead.) Mississippi steamboats arrived almost hourly during daylight hours, bearing thousands of newcomers who had to find lodging in St. Paul before dispersing to other parts of the territory. Skirmishes involving Indians still took place occasionally on St. Paul streets.[2] On the positive side, a city hall in Rice Park was being completed, scores of new businesses were starting, and new laws were being passed.

Spectacular fires were common these early years, as most buildings were made of wood. In 1857, twenty structures on Third Street between Market and St. Peter

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city's history, certain honored names stand out as willing helpers in every good cause . . . Charles E. Mayo is one."

Mayo devoted much of his spare time to the study of New England genealogy. In 1898 he compiled and edited a *Mortuary Record from the Gravestones in the Old Burial Ground in Brewster, Mass.*, with geographical and genealogical notes which were to serve as a point of reference for many future historians.

"Mayo knows Cape Cod as most men know the houses in which they live," commented a St. Paul *Pioneer Press* reporter in 1897 after meeting Mayo.

2. Homer Clark liked to tell his children the story of James J. Hill, railroad builder and friend of the Indians, who one day was visited by a group of Sioux during one of their fracases with the Chippewa. While the meeting was in progress, a band of Chippewa also appeared at the door. Hill promptly gave instructions that no effort should be spared to entertain the Sioux upstairs in his southern-style parlor on the second floor, while downstairs he gave his best endeavors to satisfying the Chippewa as quickly as possible before fighting could break out. To Hill's relief, he succeeded in inducing the Chippewa to leave without discovering the Sioux.

Streets burned down, as well as many frame buildings on Robert between Third and Fourth Streets. (Third Street later was renamed Kellogg Boulevard.)

In 1857, Charles Clark's second year in St. Paul, the first city directory was issued. It contained 1,700 names and 158 advertisements from business establishments. Charles E. Mayo & Company Hardware was listed at Third Street between Minnesota and Robert. The 1858–59 directory is the first to list Charles Clark as a clerk at Mayo Hardware Company. According to the directory, Charles Clark was boarding at Joseph's Hall on Third Street. Mayo was boarding on Main Street between Washington and Franklin.

Around 1860 or 1861 Charles Clark bought a horse, a necessity for a business man where there was no public transportation, and took much interest in this horse's well-being. During Charles's visits back East to purchase stock for the store and to see relatives, Mayo and other friends took care of the horse in exchange for its use.

In 1862, when Charles Clark was in Boston, Charles Mayo wrote him that business was dull—all he had sold was a drum stove—and that his horse was being taken well care of. Local news reflecting a bit of the average family's life in St. Paul during the 1860s filled the rest of the letter.

W. H. Hayden & Co. are going to leave town. Can't make the grocery business pay. Strawberries are plenty at 10 to 15 cents a quart.

I planted some potatoes, June 14th, where the Dutchman planted the melons. . . . They are just beginning to show themselves. The flowers are coming up and we expect to have a handsome garden yet. Mr. Merrick takes very good care of the horse. At Mr. Merrick's request, Carrie has made a horse blanket of some thin stuff and we shall try to keep him clean.

Dr. Patterson is very anxious to know whether you are coming back spliced. I presume he and Tenney have canvassed the subject thoroughly.

In 1863, the wholesale hardware business became "Mayo and Clark" and was located at 140 Third Street.

Clark was living on Seventh Street between Sibley and Wacouta with Charles Mayo.

By 1865, Charles Clark had started boarding at the Merchants Hotel at Third Street and Jackson, while Charles Mayo remained on Seventh Street. Sometime during 1865 or early 1866, Martha and Charles must have decided to get married and live in the East, for by 1866, Charles Clark was in Boston, working once again in the import business. Their marriage took place on October 11, 1866. Mayo, in Charles Clark's absence, took on two new partners, Henry M. Smyth from New York, and James P. Pond from Vermont.

Martha's marriage evoked a touching letter from her father, Samuel Pierce. Outwardly an undemonstrative man, he wrote shortly after the wedding:

Nov. 1866

Dear Daughter Martha:

I received your kind, touching and unexpected note of yesterday. I am exceedingly glad to learn that your wedding has been pleasing and satisfactory to you and I am more pleased to say that I think that if a daughter was ever worthy of what parents could do for a daughter, that you are, and I am sure that your mother joins me in saying that we were not only willing but glad to do all that we have done.

May you prove to be to your husband what you have ever been to your parents and I have no doubt but what you will, and allow me to add:

> be watchful that you give no cause to irritate, constantly guard against it and long may be the years before the first angry word passes between you.

Your affectionate father

Martha marked the letter, "To keep always," and it is with the Homer P. Clark papers. With it is the list of wedding presents received by Martha and Charles. In addition to the usual table silver and glassware, the gifts included an ice cream knife, pie knives, a card receiver, an oyster ladle, lace handkerchiefs, gilt candlesticks, a pud-

ding spoon, one bronze clock, a breakfast caster, pincushion, cake basket, call bell, ink stand, a pearl cross, an ottoman, and a perfume case.

The newlyweds spent the first five years of their married life in the Boston suburb of Dorchester, close to their many relatives in Massachusetts. Charles continued to work in the import business.

On July 6, 1868, a son was born—a happy, sturdy baby according to the records—named Homer Pierce after Martha's brother. A "dear little fellow" was the way Charles referred to his new son; a young man "of whom he was not a little proud," according to Martha. He gave his parents only four sleepless nights his first nine months when he was teething. In a letter from Martha to Carrie Mayo in St. Paul, more is learned about Homer Pierce Clark's first months in Dorchester:

March 21, 1869

I scarcely dare begin to tell you of little Homer, for upon the subject, and of the first, when can a Mother stop?

He is, and always has been, a real good baby; all who know him can say that. He plays upon the floor contentedly for a long time, taking very good care of his head, yet now and then getting a blow, and he has been famous for rolling all over the floor . . . is constantly climbing and is naturally active, in that way difficult to tend, but so good-natured that it scarcely wearies you. He is good solid flesh (not fat), 22 pounds at 8 months. Skin is fair like Charlie's. Bright, dark blue eyes. Hands shaped like his father's, large ears, a good-sized nose, very good mouth, dimple and double chin. Hair enough to be seen and part (but not in the middle). He is called a good looking boy.

When mailing Homer's baby picture to friends and relatives, Martha pointed out that "he always wears high necks and long-sleeved underwaists or yoke dresses, but I thought they would not be pretty in a picture. That one pose—the one with his finger in his mouth—was baby Homer's own idea, and the one he looks surprised in is from the sound of the accordion."

Few other family records exist on Homer's childhood in Boston. At three he had what was probably polio which left him with a limp, a weakened right hand and wrist and deafness in one ear.

Mary, Homer's sister, was born in 1871, and in that same year, Charles and Martha moved back to St. Paul where they stayed through the winter, and returned to Boston in 1872. They remained in Boston until 1873. In 1872, the Clarks were to witness the tragedies wrought by the great Boston fire which directly touched their own lives and that of the Samuel Pierce family. The vivid memories of that fire were to be passed on by Homer P. Clark to his children as yet another legend in the family history.

At the time of this Boston fire Charles Clark was working for his father-in-law, Samuel Pierce, in his import store. The huge fire swept toward the docks and the warehouse where Mr. Pierce's stock of imported china was stored. The warehouse could not be saved, nor could all of the crockery be moved out, but Charles and his father-in-law together drove a horse and wagon to the warehouse to save what they could.

It was a grim evening, some of which Homer remembered though only four years old. The men took the company safe to Samuel Pierce's home in Dorchester after the fire to look over insurance policies. Samuel carried extensive coverage on the firm but as the fire had wiped out about sixty acres of Boston's business district, they had little hope the companies could or would pay. Anxiously they went through the policies issued by New York and Boston companies, then finally came upon a policy issued by a then obscure company in Minnesota named the St. Paul Fire and Marine Insurance Company. Homer remembered that his grandfather looked at the policy and said, "This one will pay." And it did. The Minnesota firm already had established a nationwide reputation for paying its claims. Homer Clark's grandfather evidently had purchased the policy because of the interest his family had in St. Paul and because he had heard of the firm's excellent reputation. (Later, Homer Clark sat on the board of directors for St. Paul Fire and Marine for

many years where helped maintain the tradition of probity, service, and conservative financial policies which have enabled the company to pay fully claims covering the most widespread disasters, such as the San Francisco earthquake and the devastating hurricanes in New England.)

In 1873, the Clarks moved back to St. Paul for two reasons: Charles had been happy working in the wholesale hardware business, and it was thought by everyone that the highly touted Minnesota climate might be good for Martha, who was not too well. (Whether due to Minnesota's "salubrious" climate or to something else, Martha C. Clark lived to be in her nineties.)

After returning to St. Paul, the Clarks lived in a boarding house on Western Avenue between Ashland and Laurel. Charles returned to the Mayo Hardware business with Charles Mayo. Mayo was still living at 191 Robert Street.

The business was moved to a substantial, three-story building, 35-by-140 feet. Apparently Charles Clark now did some traveling for Mayo & Clark, for in 1872 he wrote his four-year-old son, Homer, from the Briggs House, Madison and Canal Streets, Chicago, on February 23, telling him about the trains he was riding and about his trip. The letter reveals a warmth which Charles Clark rarely allowed himself to reveal in letters:

My dear little HOMER

I have just received a letter from Ma Ma and she says you have received the letter I wrote you from Winona, so I will send you another.

I shall take the sleeping car for Indianapolis tonight. I will get the lower berth if I can and if I cannot get a lower berth will take an upper one same as you and Ma Ma slept in when we went from Cincinnati to New York on the Atlantic and Great Western RR. When you put your head over in the morning and said 'Good Morning Pa Pa.' I don't believe it will be such a nice car as that was tho. I shall go from Indianapolis to Cincinnati and shall see Mr. and Mrs. Hunnewell and the dog and the horse and the chickens, do you remember the night you and I frightened them all down after they had gone to roost. I hope baby is well and does she laugh now when you talk to her.

Pa Pa

In all other correspondence written by Charles Clark, he addresses Homer as "Dear Sir" and signs himself, "Yours truly," even to his wife and children, though the letters give every evidence he loved them deeply. (Charles's sister Eliza was to write of him after his death, "How he liked to do things helpful to anyone.") Homer Clark demonstrated the same sort of reticence about openly demonstrating his affection in his letters to his children.

In later years, Homer Clark told his family about the years in St. Paul when he was a little boy.[3]

His first trip to Minnesota in 1871 as a three-year-old was by rail all the way. "They'd put in sleeping cars by that time, but they had just been put in," he remembered. On that trip, by way of Montreal, Homer remembered sleeping in a hotel for the first time, the Windsor in Montreal. He was to stop at the Windsor in later years and remember nostalgically his first time there.

During the winter of 1871, Clark recalled, the family rented a house in St. Paul on Leech and Ramsey, "next to that fire engine house, and I saw in a newspaper that there was a log cabin that had been moved and it was the first school house in St. Paul. And I couldn't believe our house had been a log cabin since I could remember it as a boy and I'd seen it so many times since, but I went in and they took a panel off the wall and showed me where the logs were under the clapboards." [4]

Clark's family remembers, with a chuckle, how their father took great satisfaction in telling them how he spent his first winter in Minnesota—"in a log cabin."

According to the Minnesota Historical Society interview, Clark learned that this "first school house in St. Paul," as he described it, was Harriet Bishop's school house "down on Kellogg near where the Women's City Club and Salvation Army are down there, and it was

3. These memories are on a tape recorded by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1964, when Homer Clark was ninety-six.

4. The building Clark recalled at about 181 Ramsey, is still standing as of this writing. It is now a battery service shop. In 1964 it was Juneman's Paint Shop. The building is intact, although a front addition was put on at some point in its history.

moved from up there and rehabilitated and made into a house, because the logs don't show from the inside or the outside." [5]

During the 1870s, the Clarks' early years in St. Paul, they moved several times. Homer Clark never reminisced about the earliest homes he had and there are no papers to verify just where they were. But the St. Paul City Directory shows the following addresses for the Clarks between 1872 and 1884. (In 1884 they left St. Paul for one year. Keep in mind the directory listing is a year late.)

1873	Boarding house at Western Avenue between Ashland and Laurel
1874	189 Jackson
1875	189 Jackson
1876	189 Jackson
1877	189 Jackson
1878	Family boards at Merchants Hotel, 3rd and Jackson
1879	15 E. 10th Street
1880	15 E. 10th Street
1881	25 E. 10th Street [same as before, now renumbered]
1882	25 E. 10th Street
1883	25 E. 10th Street
1884	25 E. 10th Street

The Jackson address was in "Lower Town," a section of St. Paul which was then a partially residential district behind the business and mercantile houses which clustered along old Third Street, now Kellogg Boulevard.

5. Current research by the Minnesota Historical Society's Historic Sites Department and the Ramsey County and St. Paul Historical Society is attempting to establish whether or not this was Harriet Bishop's first school house, or was one of them. Mrs. Matilda Rumsey had earlier, apparently, established a log school near the Upper Levee. Miss Bishop came to Minnesota in the 1840s and is generally recognized as St. Paul's first permanent school teacher, although at least one other school seems to have been in existence at about the same time. Harriet Bishop's school occupied, successively, at least two structures on or near the present intersection of St. Peter and Kellogg Boulevard. If Homer Clark's first home in St. Paul was indeed Harriet Bishop's first school house, the building may now be the oldest structure still standing in St. Paul.

Each home the Clarks lived in during the years from 1874 to 1884 would have been within walking distance from the hardware business, although a long walk from Tenth Street.

During the Clarks' early years in St. Paul, the city's center was located in the vicinity of the Lower Landing, or Lambert's Landing, at the foot of Jackson Street. There was a second landing, the Upper Landing, upstream about one-half mile, at the foot of Chestnut Street. Here a levee had been built out into the Mississippi by a group of business men, including Alexander Ramsey, who were interested in developing trade on the Minnesota River.

Ramsey's own mansion was on Walnut and Exchange Streets just off Irvine Park. Homer Clark, in his 1964 interview, said this mansion was on the "fringe" of the town. There were some houses on West Seventh Street, but not very much beyond, he said. In downtown St. Paul, there was "the old post office . . . and at the corner of Fifth and Wabasha Streets, the old customs house," whose architecture he very much admired and a building he always regretted seeing pulled down. It was built in 1872 and razed in 1939.

On Summit Avenue in these early days, there were only a very few houses along the bluff, according to Homer Clark, and one or two that weren't on the bluff. Fur trader Norman Kittson's elaborate mansion stood on the commanding site now occupied by the St. Paul Cathedral.

Charles Clark's partner and cousin, Charles E. Mayo, also moved several times during his early years in St. Paul. He lived on Seventh Street between Sibley and Wacouta from 1862 to 1866, on Seventh Street between Sibley and Rosabel in 1866, at 191 Robert from 1867 to 1873, at 205 Robert from 1874 to 1881, and at 551 Broadway until 1884.

In the 1870s and early 1880s, life went smoothly for Charles and Martha Clark. Homer and his sister, Mary, attended public school. A report card for Homer's eighth grade at Madison Elementary (northwest corner of Minnesota and Tenth Streets) gives a remarkably accurate

picture of where young Homer's interests were to lie in later years. He was poor in penmanship; throughout his life he hated writing letters by hand. (No wonder he learned to use a typewriter early!)[6] He was proficient in the skills which were to stand him in such good stead at West Publishing Company where he worked all of his life—English, spelling, arithmetic.[7] He loved history, a subject which guided a man of his decisions and proved to be a lifelong interest. Roman history was his favorite, and throughout his long life, he seemed to be guided by the ideals of the Roman stoics.

His home at this time was across from the Minnesota State Capitol at Exchange and Wabasha Streets, and Clark often told his own children that he "listened to the proceedings of the legislature when he should have been reading Dickens and Thackeray." This statement reflects his early interest in the democratic process.

That same year—his eighth-grade year—the State Capitol burned to the ground. The fire occurred on March 1, 1881, when the legislators were meeting late into the evening, two days before the end of that year's legislative session. Since the building was across the street, Homer watched it all.[8] Charles Clark was in the gallery of the Capitol when the building caught fire. The cupola burned off, and then, according to Homer Clark's later re-

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6. His wife strenuously objected to receiving typed letters from him so he demonstrated his usual thoughtfulness by writing her laboriously in his spidery handwriting.

7. Although he never received formal instruction in algebra, he amazed his children by solving promptly and without recourse to pencil and paper the algebra problems which periodically proved too difficult for them.

8. Homer ran to the fire (as he often ran to fires, and offered help when possible). Once he even ducked under his principal's arm to dash to a fire. For many years Homer would respond to the fire whistle on the town hall in Brewster by taking his boys to help beat out the flames which posed a major threat to the historic old houses in Brewster. Because of his concern that the Captain Isaac Clark house in Brewster should not be lost to fire in a town which had only a volunteer fire department, Homer Clark decided not to install a furnace in the house. Since Brewster now has a regular fire department and fire protection has been installed in the house, heat was added in 1979.

counting of the disaster (1964), "There was a rush of flames, everything up to the top, then they got out of these rooms and came down the stairway."

Homer was thirteen at the time and remembered this fire vividly until the day he died.[9] The new markethouse at Seventh and Wabasha was used as a temporary capitol. In 1883, a second capitol was built on the site of the first.

In his adolescent years Homer grew into a slender young man, not tall (5′7″), nor robust due to his childhood bout with polio. He limped slightly throughout his life; his children affectionately referred to his limp as his "list to port." Dark blue eyes turned to gray, his nose remained prominent, his face slender, his hair brown, his chin dimpled. He seldom smiled in photographs. All of his childhood portraits show a serious young man. His natural dignity, a trait he never lost, was evident early. Because of this dignity and reserve, few friends ever called him "Homer." It was always "Mr. Clark."

In snapshots of Clark as a young man, a very rare mood—a whimsical one—would occasionally show. In one, he is posing with flowers in his hat. Another set of photographs in an old album shows him playing leapfrog with a girl friend and another couple, a rather daring thing for a proper Victorian young man to be doing in front of a camera!

Homer's parents were religious people and became involved in the life of St. Paul's Unity Church immediately upon settling in Minnesota, and for many years Unity was the center of Homer's social life. It was the social center for his parents their entire life in St. Paul. Unity Church began formal operation in St. Paul on February

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9. St. Paul's fire trucks with powerful pumps and fire hoses were the pride of the town. After the defeat of Sitting Bull, that Indian leader was brought into town to observe the superior power of the white man. Homer Clark was on hand when Sitting Bull came out on the balcony of the Windsor Hotel to watch a demonstration of the fire hoses. However, the fire hoses got away from the men who were managing them and snaked through the crowd, spraying water in every direction. Clark was delighted to see Sitting Bull throw back his head and roar with laughter. This story of how the tables were turned on the white man was one of the few Clark acted out for his youngest daughter.

25, 1872, the year the Clarks returned to Minnesota permanently. At that time, ten articles of association, signed by some fifty persons, were approved and a board of trustees selected. On the board were William L. Ames, Joseph S. Seawell, William H. Kelley, Daniel McCaine, Edward Sawyer, and H. P. Grant (secretary and treasurer). To the existing list of subscribers were added nine more names, including several important family pioneer families of St. Paul—C. C. DeCoster, David Ramaley, and Charles Furness.

Actually, services had begun February 11, 1872, in Knauft's Hall, third floor, Seventh and Olive Streets, which was rented for the church opening.

Unitarians, including Charles H. Clark and Charles E. Mayo, had tried to start a church as far back as 1858; services had been held for ten months with Frederick R. Newell, an inactive Unitarian minister from Boston. Newell had come to St. Paul to start a business, not to serve as a minister, but he had a collection of old sermons in his trunk, and when pressed to serve the tiny group of Unitarians in St. Paul, agreed to do so. His first sermon was presented December 12, 1858, in a hall over Pollock and Donaldson Company's store on Robert Street, and it would be a fairly safe assumption that Charles Clark and Charles Mayo were in the congregation. Thirty-four people, seven of them children, listened to Mr. Newell speak on the subject of "worship."

Only a few statistics of that first ten months of Unitarian activities can be gleaned from old records. They show that Sunday attendance was around thirty persons, and that it cost $70.30 for rent, $1.00 for printing, and $21.00 for the minister. Included in the financial statement (a very brief one), was a list of the sixteen people who had contributed to sustain this early organization, and among the sixteen were Charles H. Clark and Charles E. Mayo. But even on this budget of about $9.23 a month, the church could not be kept going, and this first effort toward a Unitarian church in St. Paul was discontinued.

Between 1858 and 1872, many attempts were made to keep a Unitarian church going, with varying results. Charles Clark, of course, was away from St. Paul

for several years in the 1860s and probably did not participate, though Charles Mayo, his cousin, did.

From 1872 on, the Charles Clark family figures prominently in the history of Unity Church of St. Paul. A small wooden church on Temperance Street, property of the Plymouth Church, was used after Knauft's Hall. The building held 200 people. Rental was more than Knauft's charged, and monetary problems constantly plagued the congregation. The women, including Martha C. Clark, put on "earnest Oyster Suppers, Public Balls, and Opera House Dramatis" to raise money. They managed to raise the remarkable sum of $700 and closed 1872 with a debt of only $200.

In Elinor Otto's history of Unity Church, the Clarks are referred to as "dedicated church members and lifelong generous contributors. It is to Martha Clark that Unity Church is indebted for . . . many . . . documents relating to church history." Mrs. Clark was the first president of The Ladies Benevolent Society, begun in 1876. The group helped needy women by providing them with work and clothing. The women were hired as seamstresses and the garments they made were given to the poor or sold inexpensively at the society's Thursday meetings. As a Unity Church member, Martha also worked on behalf of the Home for the Friendless, the Protestant Orphan Asylum, the St. Paul Relief Society, and the Woman's Christian Home.

In 1879, Unity Church decided to build its own edifice. Martha Clark served on the building committee along with four other members. They ran into almost insurmountable troubles. After the building was begun, the contractor, G. W. Merrill, ran into water—an unsuspected peat bog lay under the property. Estimated costs rose. The building committee chairman resigned, and the contractor failed, leaving the building half finished. More money was badly needed. The church women held a Christmas fair which brought in almost $1,000. Martha Clark and other members appealed to their Unitarian friends in other cities for donations, Martha, of course, to Boston. Unity Church of St. Paul had decreed that no debt of over $3,000 was to be incurred for lots and

building. The $3,000 was so hard to borrow that finally a loan was accepted from Mrs. Charles H. Clark, Mrs. Edward Sawyer, and the minister, Mr. Gannett.

Finally, in 1882, two years after the ground was broken, the first floor of the new church on Wabasha opposite Summit was completed and church services were held. Within two more years, the rest of the building was completed. The current church building at Portland and Grotto Streets was dedicated December 10, 1905. Both Martha and Charles Clark were still alive to see the fulfillment of this project.

Martha Clark was one of the founders of the Women's Work Exchange, 129 Endicott Arcade, a charitable organization where women could bring their handwork to sell. She also helped develop the Protestant Orphan Asylum, 670 Marshall Avenue, eventually served as treasurer, and became an honorary member. Her grandchildren remember stories about how Martha Clark helped unwed mothers, almost unheard of in the 1880s. Mrs. Clark's activities are well documented in her frequent letters to relatives in New England, as well as in Unity Church historical records. There is no record of any specific civic activities engaged in by Charles Clark other than at church.

During these early years of Homer's in St. Paul, the city was a boom town. New families were pouring in; new businesses were springing up everywhere, crowding out the residential sections of Lower Town. Streets were being paved and houses changed hands frequently as people prospered and moved into better or larger homes. The Northern Pacific railroad was established in St. Paul; steamboats were plying up and down the Mississippi River bringing goods and travelers.

In a single day—April 4, 1884—1,700 passengers arrived in St. Paul by train. Seventeen steamboats were making 158 trips a year and hauling 25,800 tons of goods. "The Mississippi River will soon be the greatest transportation route on the continent," immodestly boasted the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce.

Because of the prosperity, there were many business areas that were profitable—groceries, dry goods, grain,

hardware, lumber, boots and shoes, livestock, fuel, to name a few. Homer Clark's father was involved in both hardware and real estate. Martha Clark was investing substantial sums of her own, her father's, and other relatives' money into St. Paul city lots. Profit yields as high as thirty per cent were common. Later, in poor profit years, Martha was to subdivide her property to help keep the family in funds.

The smooth pattern of life for the Clarks was to be interrupted in the early 1880s with unforeseen trouble, trouble that was to disrupt their family life and the high school careers of Homer and Mary. In 1883, a nation-wide recession which also affected St. Paul and Minneapolis caused the business of Mayo & Clark's hardware house to fall off so seriously that creditors could not be paid on time. Charles Clark, an honest man to the core, as was Charles E. Mayo, worried increasingly over what might happen. The drop in sales happened almost overnight. In 1881, a history of St. Paul reported that Mayo & Clark were doing a large business, and that the "tide of prosperity" had caught them in its wake. Charles Clark wrote a customer, "We have been so pressed with orders that it has been impossible to keep up. We have hired seven extra men since September 10 and are getting in shape to handle the extra volume of business which we, as well as every other house in St. Paul is [sic] getting."

From the Charles E. Mayo papers and the Mayo & Clark records in the archives of the Minnesota Historical Society, it appears that large quantities of stock had been purchased just prior to the recession, and it was these creditors who were not getting their money.

Mayo & Clark made every effort to keep in touch with their creditors and assure them that payment would eventually be made. The records are not clear as to what Charles Mayo was doing at this particular time in 1883 and 1884—it appears that Charles Clark was taking care of the problem with the creditors. A meeting was called of the major creditors and an offer made to pay them so much on the dollar—just how much was never settled, as the Western File Company of Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, refused to settle on the terms proposed and brought

suit against Mayo & Clark for the $1,447.52 due them. This put the company in the position of having to protect its other creditors in order to treat them fairly; while Charles Clark was working on a plan, two St. Paul creditors petitioned the court to appoint a receiver for Mayo & Clark, thus forcing bankruptcy proceedings.

Records indicate that Samuel Pierce, Charles Clark's father-in-law, had invested heavily in Mayo & Clark and stood to lose around $20,000. Needless to say, Pierce was in constant touch with Charles Clark, offering advice on how to proceed.

In Clark's own words, Mayo & Clark would have made any effort or sacrifice to prevent bankruptcy. "It has been unavoidable," he wrote creditors, "disastrous as it is to both our creditors and ourselves."

A receiver was appointed by the courts July 5, 1884 —Channing Seabury, a friend of both Charles Mayo and Charles Clark, and a member of Unity Church. Clark reported to Samuel Pierce that summer that "sales for June were $12,200, collections $19,468, stock on hand worth $60,000, and accounts payable $58,000. We have bought some new goods in the butcher's line so as to keep up that part of the business. The stock is clean and in good order but the assortments a good deal broken. Will send you a full statement to the first of the month as soon as we take off allotment."

It is clear that tension was building between Samuel Pierce and his son-in-law, as evidenced by another letter written by Clark on July 28, 1884:

> From the tone of your letter I judge you think I have not given you particulars enough. I am sorry but I thought I had kept you posted. There has been nothing to say lately, things must "drift" along till the bids are opened (for selling the stock). The sales are light so the stock is not much affected.

The hope was to pay creditors fifty to sixty cents on the dollar. Farwell, Ozmun & Jackson were the successful bidders for the remaining stock of Mayo & Clark.

By the fall of 1884, Charles Clark's worry and intense embarrassment over the bankruptcy proceedings put him in a dangerous mental state. A fiercely proud, self-made man in the tradition of his New England forebears, he could not countenance the thought of failure or not paying all creditors in full. So distraught was Clark that except for the swift action of friends and of his wife Martha, he might have tried to take his own life.

Early one October afternoon in 1884, Charles Clark went to Adam Decker's store and asked to buy a pistol. Decker immediately called in Charles Mayo and other friends. They walked the despondent Clark around St. Paul for an entire afternoon, trying to reassure him that all was not lost and to keep him from going over the brink. When they got in touch with Martha Clark they did not tell her of her husband's efforts to get a gun, only that he was ill. She realized the point had been reached where something drastic had to be done to help him. Somehow she talked him into going with her to his sister's home in Dubuque, Iowa. From there she took him to her parents' home in Boston. She took Homer and Mary out of St. Paul High School and to Boston with her. This dark time in the Clarks' life is reflected in the following letters from Channing Seabury to Martha Clark that fall:

Your movements with respect to Charlie have been wise. So say all the business men here, Warner Stevens [law firm] among the number. He was in no condition to take up that business and go on with it alone and would only have broken down more hopelessly in the end.[10] A few months' of rest and freedom from worry will bring him out all right again. The foreign trip is certainly a responsibility for you, but not too much, for you are equal to anything!

10. The St. Paul City Directory shows that in 1884 Charles E. Mayo, who had founded the wholesale hardware business in January, 1854, took a salesman's job with Farwell, Ozmun & Jackson at this time, with Charles Clark agreeing to handle the firm's financial problems.

And on October 17, 1884:

Am glad to hear that yourself and Charlie are so well and contented. I agree with you, that you were wise in making the move you did, as nothing but a change of scene and surroundings would have brought Charlie out of his dangerous mental condition. Did you know that he tried to buy a pistol one day of Adam Decker and that Mr. Decker sent for Mr. Mayo and the latter walked Charlie around town all one afternoon, a day or two before you went to Dubuque with him? It was true, but is known to only four or five persons and I did not speak to you about it as you had plenty to think about.

The foreign trip mentioned by Channing Seabury was the trip to Europe which Martha planned for Charles and the children to restore her husband's mental health. With the financial aid of her father, they stayed more than seven months, returning to Minnesota in June, 1885. Using Germany as a base, they visited several countries in Europe. Homer and Mary spent the time abroad visiting museums, bicycling, sightseeing, and generally enjoying themselves. (Details of Homer's activities that year are recounted in Chapter 10. These details are taken from a diary kept by Charles Clark during the time abroad.)

That the Clarks were back in St. Paul by the summer of 1885 is confirmed by a letter written to Homer then eighteen, by his Boston cousin, Mary B. Pierce. Her letter was in reply to one from Homer telling her about the first Winter Carnival ice palace for St. Paul. "How nice it must be to have an ice palace so near you," wrote Mary.

Homer probably told his cousin that newspapers said the palace was to be "a magnificent castle of the medieval type with a main tower defended by an outlook about thirty-two feet in height, with battlements and towers at angles." The outer walls were to be twenty inches thick and the central tower forty inches. Over twenty thousand blocks of ice were going to be needed.

Homer watched the building of this palace the next winter with fascination, as did all of St. Paul. When it was finished, he wandered through the many inside "apartments" to view the "magical effect of the solid crystal walls."

The years following Charles Clark's business crisis were trying ones for the entire family. They found a house to rent at 553 Ashland Avenue. Mary and Homer went back to St. Paul High School; their father began his search for a new business. During these difficult years between 1885 and 1887, Charles Clark tried in vain to raise $50,000 to invest in a new venture. His father-in-law, Samuel Pierce, was approached for the backing, but Pierce, whose success came from his own ingenuity and shrewdness, was a tough person to deal with. Between 1886 and 1888, letters flew back and forth from St. Paul to Boston—Martha to her father, asking advice; Samuel to Martha, giving advice; Charles Clark to Samuel, asking for capital; Samuel to Charles, hesitating to finance him again. Martha's brother Homer also came into the picture, giving advice. The net result—the capital requested was not provided.

It was obvious that Samuel Pierce did not completely trust Clark's business judgment. Throughout the years, Pierce had advised Martha to keep all assets in her name, which she did. Charles Clark had no assets on record. Pierce's letters reveal a caution about helping Clark, but a caution always tempered by the knowledge that this was his daughter's husband and a decent, honorable man determined to succeed. Pierce was good at giving advice, as evidenced from his letters at that time:

Samuel Pierce to Martha:

December 4, 1885

Now as to the sale of your land, don't be afraid to sell when a good price is offered. It may be well to keep it to give Charles something to do. Otherwise it will be best to sell . . .. If you conclude to sell make up your mind to be satisfied even if it should prove to be worth more money.

I have Charles letter of the 9th inst. about buying the rake and fork work at Syracuse which he says will require cash,

$50,000 cash . . .. (I am not a Vanderbilt). The large amount indicates that the business should be large and require a great deal of care. I should much rather see him in some small business that would gain him employment.

I have within a few days sold land for twelve houses . . . .

Samuel Pierce to Martha:

. . . it might be well to build a house to give Charles something to do if money matters should be arranged and I think they might. . . . I would not recommend buying any land (but of your own) to build on (at this time). The old saying is that it is not well to go clamming at high tide, or is it well to buy on the boom. Somebody must be caught.

The newspapers do not tell when the tide will turn. Don't forget there was 7 or 8 years that your land would not sell at $500 per acre. I charge you 6 per cent interest.

And a letter from Homer Pierce to his sister Martha, exhibits the same ability to dispense advice as his father.

Feb. 22, 1887

I cannot understand what capital Charles would require to establish himself as a real estate agent except enough to pay office rent. If he goes into it as a broker he would confine himself strictly to a brokerage business and not go into speculations or operations himself. Our experience here is that if a broker is known to be an operator also he loses the confidence of both buyers and sellers, for it is thought that if a really good trade is offered, he will take it himself.

In St. Paul, Charles Clark was angling for business opportunities, and very nearly joined with one of the city's leading manufacturers, Allen Keene Pruden. Pruden came to St. Paul about the same time Charles Clark first came, in the 1850s. He lived near the Clarks, at 604 Ashland, and owned a substantial business on Third Street, near Mayo & Clark's former hardware store.

Pruden, an inventor of portable fireproof buildings, and owner of a factory wrote Charles on January 2, 1886:

Friend Clark:

It is possible that within a few days I might be in a position to talk with you about taking hold with me, and if I am, the situation would be about this:

Mr. Voss (Pruden Secy and Treas) thinks of going back to Cin' on his Mrs. acct and selling his stock to Mr. Foy (Pruden V.P.) and in that case I doubt if I would be willing to keep Mr. Foy in the position he would want. Now these gentlemen have both been a very expensive luxury to PSCO. I think that if any change is to be made I would prefer to admit some St. Paul man familiar with trade in the Northwest and drop them both out if possible.

Pruden then outlined the stock purchasing arrangement and the need for capital of (around) fifty thousand dollars. Clark could not raise the capital required, so he had to turn down Pruden.

At this point, however, Clark formed a partnership with Gilbert G. Thorne and the company of Thorne and Clark Real Estate. This was to be Clark's business occupation until his death on August 31, 1907. Gilbert G. Thorne had been a bookkeeper and cashier for Cochran, Rice and Walsh Real Estate, on the southwest corner of Fifth Street and Jackson. Thorne lived at 398 Laurel when Clark began talking to him about a real estate firm. The two opened for business in 1887 at 316 Robert as "Clark and Thorne, Loans." This was the year Homer Clark was graduated from St. Paul High School and went to work as a clerk for Finch, Van Slyck & Company, 381–85 Jackson.

We know at this point that Martha Clark planned to have her daughter Mary attend Smith College; her letters to relatives in Boston are full of her plans. The question can be asked why no one planned to send Homer to college also. The answer probably lies in the fact that Homer himself decided he could not go and that he must, as a responsible Victorian young man, help his family

financially during these difficult days when his father had no income. It would have been unthinkable under the circumstances for the only son not to offer to help out. Undoubtedly he had watched his mother worry about finances while in Europe and after their return to St. Paul. He may or may not have realized to what extent the failure of Mayo & Clark was affecting his father's attempts to begin again in business. Actually, the business failure was to work against him with people that did not know personally his great integrity and his conscientiousness. One example was on July 7, 1890, when a friend of Charles Clark's partner, Gilbert Thorne, wrote the following confidential letter to Thorne in an effort to help clear Clark's good name:

Dear Sir:

I am going to write you 'confidentially' about a delicate matter but one I think you ought to know about. Can't you get solid with the mercantile agencies?

One of the first things a business man here would do if I approached him on the loan question would be to get a report of your firm from the mercantile agency here. One man has already done that and brought me the result.

The report is not what you would like and I am satisfied is not just. It states that "Clark is an old business man with a failure charged up to him several years ago while in the hardware business." He is said to have nothing in his own name but his wife is in comfortable circumstances and owns property to the value of $30,000 to $40,000. It also puts you at $10,000, says you are the practical man of the firm. Says the "honesty and integrity of both partners is unquestioned and it is the opinion that your contracts can be relied on." It ends up with the statement "They are no doubt worthy of some confidence."

I hope you will take this in the same spirit in which I write it. I only feel justice is not being done you in this important direction. Please don't give me away on this.

Yours sincerely,

Wallace D. Dexter

Many letters in the Homer P. Clark papers reflect these worrisome times: money was needed to send Mary

to Smith College after her graduation from St. Paul High School in 1889; Martha felt Homer's job as a clerk was not suitable for a young man of his talents and ambition. Martha constantly pressured her husband: "What is Homer to do?" "Where will the money come for Mary?" "How are we to pay our bills?" To add to her worries, her father was ill and feeble. She left St. Paul often to take care of him in the early 1890s, taking him south each winter and leaving her family with the household staff. She posed many questions in her letters home during these months in the South with her ailing father, but as Charles Clark either didn't answer her questions or perhaps did not even write her very often, we do not know his thoughts. There was additional worry over Homer's health; he apparently was not too well.

In the winter of 1887, Samuel Pierce wrote Martha: "Should Homer think of coming to Boston or come, the effect of change of climate should be closely watched and any bad effect appear, he should return. The change might perhaps be a benefit." And always prudent, Pierce concluded: "A few months' knowledge of my methods of doing business in real estate might be a good thing for him. Should you want him to come I will pay his fare."

In truth, Martha Clark was worrying unnecessarily, except about her son's health and her husband's business abilities. Mary's college was to be financed by Grandfather Pierce; Homer, though never sent to college, was to earn not only a very comfortable living but a place for himself in Minnesota history. Charles Clark managed to succeed in his real estate venture.

Although Homer Clark joined Finch, Van Slyck & Company in 1887 to please his family, he had ambitions far beyond being a clerk. Like any young man, he longed for adventure, just as his parents had when they were young. Through his own efforts he found such adventure, one with the promise of substantial earnings along with it. We call it his "Cranberry River" adventure, as it took place on the Cranberry River in the pinelands of northern Wisconsin. Little did Homer Clark

realize what he was getting into when he chose this arena for adventure. The experience was, in many ways, to be his crossing over into adulthood and one which provided a solid foundation for the "slings and arrows" of the future.

CHAPTER FOUR

The World of Cranberry River *

THE LATE 1880s were bustling, optimistic years in St. Paul's history. Streets were paved, sewers laid, and St. Paul's first "skyscraper," the twelve-story Pioneer Building, was built at 336 North Robert. More than 150 trains arrived and departed daily, and in 1888, eight million travelers passed through the St. Paul depot. Twelve separate trunk lines rumbled in and out of the city, including the great trunk lines which connected St. Paul with Chicago. One of the most important of these lines was the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha, commonly known as the "Omaha."

The railroads created enormous wealth for men like James J. Hill, who built his impressive Romanesque man-

* This chapter was written by Carmen Billings.

sion on Summit Avenue during this period. Tantalizing success stories of enterprising men, like Hill, who amassed great fortunes, were given extensive coverage in the press. The prosperity of the times encouraged the feeling that these prizes were within the reach of any able person, given the appropriate opportunity and a fair share of luck—in short, the American dream.

Homer Clark's incentive to work for the realization of such a dream was great. Not only did he want to succeed to satisfy his own ambitions, but at this point, his family would welcome financial help. Since his father's setback in business in 1884 and subsequent struggle to reestablish himself, the family income had been substantially diminished, a situation that dictated Homer's getting a job as soon as possible rather than attending college. True, the Clarks were not in dire straights as Grandfather Pierce would never have allowed his daughter Martha's family to be in need. But family pride always resisted the acceptance of such help; making it on their own was the only acceptable course of action.

As soon as Homer was graduated from St. Paul High School in 1887, he went to work as a salesman for Finch, Van Slyck & Company. Meanwhile, he looked around for an opportunity to realize his dreams for adventure and for making money. When he read the exciting news that large areas of public land in the virgin white pine woods of northern Wisconsin would soon be open for homesteading, Homer thought this might be his chance for adventure and profit.

By the late 1880s homesteading was rare because land was no longer available except on the Great Plains or in the mountain states of the Far West. Huge land grants to the railroads had tied up large tracts for many years. Now, by the Adjustment Act of March 3, 1887 (24 Stat. 557), surplus land not needed by the railroads, and not already sold, would revert to the public domain and be opened to settlement. It was in the air that half a year's residence and $200 would secure a quarter section of choice timberland that would yield a profit of $5,000 to $10,000 to anyone over twenty-one who would stake out a homestead claim, make the required improvements, and

comply with the rules established by the General Land Office.

Charles Clark encouraged his son to embark on this adventure. The senior Clark was interested in land, having recently set up his own mortgage and loan business with another St. Paul man, Gilbert G. Thorne. Charles Clark wrote frequently to his brothers and sisters in Boston, several of whom had made real estate investments through his firm. He became intrigued with the homestead opportunity and sent an enthusiastic letter to his brother George describing the possibility of realizing a substantial profit in return for a relatively small expenditure of time and money.

Evidently his optimism was contagious, for his brother quickly replied that, while he could not see his way clear to make this commitment of time from work, perhaps their sisters Eliza and Sarah would be interested. Both sisters were middle-aged single women. Eliza, the older, had been a widow for five years. Sarah was a Boston school teacher who could conceivably find a substitute for a brief period of time. Soon George Clark wrote that he had discussed the matter with them, and both were enthusiastic, particularly if Charles could take a leave of absence from his business and accompany them.

In a letter dated January 20, 1888, Eliza wrote her brother Charles and expressed her appreciation for his efforts to secure homestead claims:

> . . . The thought of getting so large a value for so small an outlay of money and time seems quite enchanting. Once the claim has been selected, with hut built, fuel to burn, if there are no wolves about, and with a protector and companion in you, I think I could laugh at any hardship in that short time, enjoy the novelty, and, as you say, manage to get a good deal of fun out of it all. . . .

Eliza said Sarah shared her desire to get a claim, but assured her brother that they would not be disappointed if he were not successful, adding "we still will have had

Dr. and Mrs. Frederic A. Dunsmoor
request the honour of your presence
at the marriage of their daughter
Elizabeth Turner
to
Mr. Homer Pierce Clark
on the evening of Wednesday, the twelfth of January
One thousand nine hundred and ten
at eight o'clock
Hennepin Avenue Church
Minneapolis

Mrs. Thomas Lowry

ests the pleasure of your comp

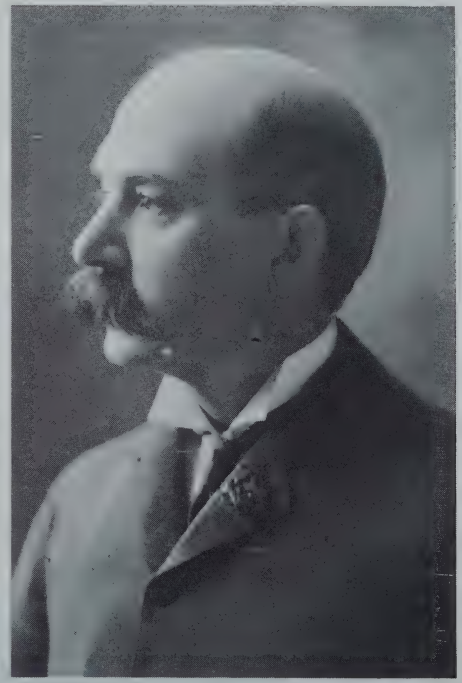
Reception
—TO—
Social and Mu M
MAY 23D, 1895

The pleasure of your company is r
at
The Assembly
on Tuesday evening, January
at nine o'clock.

The social whirl of Homer Clark's bachelor years.

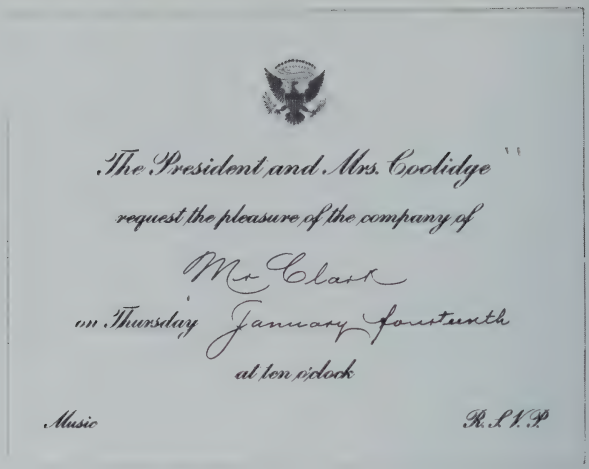
Homer Clark's bachelor years. Homer had fun with his friends, *top left,* on an outing at Chisago City in 1901, especially playing leapfrog, *top right.* The center photo and bottom right photos show Clark's serious and whimsical sides, respectively, when he was in his thirties. *Bottom left,* Clark, a lifelong sailing enthusiast, is shown at the helm on White Bear Lake.

Elizabeth Turner Dunsmoor Clark. Even from the age of 4, *top,* Elizabeth Dunsmoor was winsome and attractive. *Center left,* Elizabeth's high school graduation picture, 1903. *Center,* with her mother and her sister, Marjorie, in Budapest during their European tour (1908). *Center right,* Elizabeth, or called Bessie in her adult years, photographed shortly after her marriage to Homer Clark (1910). *Bottom,* Bessie in the 1920s or '30s.



The Dunsmoor family. Bessie's mother, Elizabeth Emma Dunsmoor, *left,* and father, Dr. Frederick A. Dunsmoor, *right,* were socially prominent residents of Minneapolis. Her brother, Frederick Laton Dunsmoor, *top center,* died in his early twenties of tuberculosis. Throughout their childhood and teens, Mrs. Dunsmoor often dressed her daughters, Elizabeth and Marjorie, in identical outfits, *bottom center.*

The Homer and Elizabeth Clark family. Homer and Bessie, *top left,* in their home at 534 Summit Avenue, St. Paul, *top center.* There they raised five children, Thomas Kimball Clark, *bottom right;* Robert Stuart Clark, *bottom left and standing in photo on the extreme right;* Helen Dunsmoor Clark (MacGregor), *center right with her father and seated left in photo on the right;* Elizabeth (Betty) Turner Clark (Blank), *seated center on right;* and Catherine (Cathie) Pierce Clark (Kroeger), *seated right on right.* Summers and vacations often meant visits to the Captain Isaac Clark house, *center left,* on Cape Cod, seen here in 1939.



The President and Mrs. Coolidge

request the pleasure of the company of

Mr. Clark

on Thursday January fourteenth

at ten o'clock

Music *R.S.V.P.*

MELVIN J. MAAS
4TH DIST. MINNESOTA

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
COMMITTEE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. March 15, 1928

Mr. Homer P. Clark,
Daytona Beach, Florida.

My dear Mr. Clark:

I believe the whole Minnesota Republican Delegation was very much surprised and disappointed when Senator Brooks announced that he would not be a candidate to succeed himself as National Committeeman. I believe that he has done splendid effective work and I am genuinely sorry to see him retire if that is his final decision. If it is his decision, there is just one man in the State of Minnesota that I believe should be his successor, if he will accept, and that is yourself.

If you are in a position where you can afford to do this, you have the time and do not want anything for yourself, I believe that you can render a great service to the State of Minnesota and to the country at large if you would serve as National Committeeman. I am sure that you would have the confidence of the Republicans of Minnesota as well as the republicans of the country. I know that you are not seeking this position but I hope that it will be offered to you and that you will accept it.

Sincerely yours,

Mjm-Caj

Melvin J. Maas

Homer Clark and the world of politics. In the 1920s, President Calvin Coolidge acknowledged Clark's work on the U.S. Code in Washington with an invitation to a reception at the White House, *top*. His contributions to national and state Republicanism brought him a request from Representative Melvin J. Maas, *bottom,* to serve as a National Committeeman for the party. Clark declined the latter invitation, preferring to work backstage in politics.

ST. PAUL PIONEER PRESS

These two photographs show another facet of Homer Clark's life. *On the left,* he's chatting with John D. Brian, a lifelong friend and frequent golfing companion, in California in the early 1930s. *Right,* Clark is straightening the tie of his future son-in-law, Albert Blank, a few minutes before his marriage to Betty Clark.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL CITY PLANNING BOARD

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Homer Clark's civic and business worlds. The blight in the Minnesota State Capitol Area in 1945, *top photo,* greatly concerned Clark at the time he served on the Capitol Approach Commission of the 1940s. He helped direct the campaign to beautify the capitol approach area. Clark, *center photo,* in his office at West Publishing Company in 1964 with two key company executives, Lee H. Slater, *left,* and Harvey T. Reid, *right.* Homer Clark received a plaque on January 3, 1963, honoring him with the first Great Living St. Paulite award, *bottom photo.* Frederick Bjorkland is on the left and Lee Slater on the right in this photo.

the fun of imagining what we might experience in a lodge in some vast wilderness."

Despite his efforts, Charles Clark soon found that he had neither the time nor the experience to find suitable claims. One of his business clients, Charles Houlton, was a broker in pine land, and it was to him that Charles Clark turned for advice.

Houlton bought and sold, as well as loaned money, on timberland. He could be described as a land agent, speculator, or loan shark, depending on the individual perceptions of his observers. During this period he had real estate offices in St. Paul, Duluth, and West Superior.

Both Charles Houlton's father, Horatio, and his uncle, William Henry, had been involved in the lumber business, jointly operating a sawmill and lumber company in Elk River for many years. But the brothers were not compatible.

William Henry Houlton described their differences in autobiographical notes included in his papers at the Minnesota Historical Society:

> I hesitated a good deal about coming to Elk River. My brother's business habits and mine were very different. Horatio was active and enterprising but loose and over-hopeful, while I was cautious and of the slow and sure kind. He was not then worth anything above his debts.

William later became a partner in the Mills and Houlton Lumber Co. in Elk River, Minnesota, and served as state senator from Sherburne County from 1879 to 1886. Horatio became a member of the Prince and Houlton Lumber Company, which operated a sawmill in St. Paul for a time.

The Houltons, like the Clarks, had their ancestral roots deep in the East. The earliest Houlton in this country had come from England to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1640. His descendant, Joseph Houlton, founded the town of Houlton, Maine, where his grandsons, Horatio and William, were born.

Charles Clark felt comfortable with his choice of Charles Houlton as land agent. Houlton had been engaged for several years in locating settlers on the public domain and in assisting them in acquiring title to the land by exercising their homestead rights.

Besides, Houlton's uncle, Horatio, was a woodsman and pine land explorer of extensive experience, well versed in respect to the location of valuable timber and the methods for legally acquiring these lands. Charles Clark was also impressed with Horatio Houlton's efforts to return the surplus railroad land to public settlement. During the period from 1887 to 1891, Houlton devoted several months each year to attending sessions of Congress for this purpose.

After Charles Clark consulted the Houltons about possible claims, the homestead adventure emerged from the gray area of conjecture to the excitement of imminent reality. By this time Charles realized that he definitely could not take time from his business to stake a claim, but since Eliza and Sarah had agreed to go, they could accompany Homer.

By late summer, 1889, Homer was eager to try for a tract of land in the northern Wisconsin pineries. His mother was in Boston, visiting her parents. Homer sent a long letter to her, explaining the reasons for his decision to stake out a claim and asking her to respond quickly so that he could give adequate notice to his employer, Finch, Van Slyck.

Mrs. Clark was slow in approving her son's plan. The wilderness of northern Wisconsin seemed a remote and hostile world away from her father's comfortable old home in Boston. Perhaps she was remembering the terrifying report in the St. Paul newspaper of the man who had been found frozen to death while in pursuit of a homestead claim. Her maternal concern was understandable, for Homer had never been physically strong. The slender young man who walked with a slight limp, whose right hand and wrist were weakened, and whose hearing was impaired due to a childhood illness, seemed to his mother singularly ill equipped for the rough life of the woods.

It must have been a difficult letter to answer. Martha Clark realized that her son was sensitive about his health, and, anxious not to appear overly protective, directed her concern to her son's business career. She inquired as to whether the Wisconsin experience might not delay, or even reduce, his chances to become established in a good business.

Homer sent a swift reply on August 17, 1889, to ease his mother's apprehension. In a well-reasoned letter he wrote:

Dear Mamma,—

. . . I had just about decided to go up in the woods about Sept. 15. Now I don't want to wait about deciding until you get home, as that would not give them much notice at the store, so wish you would write as soon as you receive this. . . .

Now about the claim, a fellow stands a good show of getting a claim worth $5000.00 I think & even if you could only get a $2500.00 I believe it worth going for. Of course one must put up with a great deal, being a long way from town & having to put up with coarse food. Then I suppose it is very cold there in winter. The place is between Duluth & Ashland and near Lake Superior. , so I would not be so very far from here & I could come down & visit now & then. . . .

In regard to eatables, I should want to take a few lessons in bread making etc. before I went. Then one gets fine meat by shooting, in this way you get venison, ducks, pheasants etc, & there are a great many trout in that region. . . .

I think . . . things would be worth putting up with for the probable gain. And I think it would be a good while before I would be able to make that amount in the city.

Then I think it would be the best thing a fellow could do for health, as I hear they all grow strong & stout.

I don't think there would be much time to idle away, as it would keep one pretty busy cutting wood for his fire, preparing meals, shooting for meat & catching fish. Then I should take a lot of good books, scientific books etc. . . .

I am not inclined to think there is any danger in what you spoke of, [i. e.] hurting one for business afterwards.

And I think the money would be a great help in getting into a good business.

So considering everything, I think it the best thing I can do but I will do nothing until I hear from you again, so please write quickly . . .

Whatever doubts Mrs. Clark still felt after receiving her son's letter, she evidently gave her consent, for the following month Homer Clark, under the guidance of Charles Houlton, left St. Paul for the Wisconsin woods. It was agreed that the two men would locate the claims and that the two aunts would arrive later, when the land had been selected and the cabins built.

In a letter dated October 19, 1889, Charles Clark sent word to Homer, then in the woods of northern Wisconsin, near Lake Superior in the Washburn-Bayfield area, informing him that Horatio Houlton was in Washington, D.C., looking after the interests of the settlers. An award had recently been made of a large grant of land to the Omaha Railroad Company, and Houlton was anxious to see that the settlers' claims were not included in the land given to the railroad.

A few days later, Horatio Houlton wired Charles Clark that an adjustment would soon be made on the Omaha land, adding: "There may be a chance for your folks near the city of Ashland. Homer is catching on quicker to the exploring business than anyone I ever saw."

The following day a wire from Horatio Houlton advised Homer to look at land in Township 50, Range 7W, Section 21. Homer and Charles Houlton looked the land over, liked what they saw, and agreed that this was a valuable piece of land, rich as it was in virgin white pine. Homer decided to stake a claim for this land.

It was a serious responsibility for a young man, barely twenty-one years old. He was entrusted to find suitable claims not only for himself, but for his two aunts as well. For nearly a week he had tramped through miles of dense woods searching for good land, and had become so preoccupied with the claim search that he neglected his correspondence. A telegram from his father reached him in Bayfield a few days later, reflecting his parents' worry

over his well-being: "We have not heard from you for over a week. Mamma is awfully anxious about you. Put yourself in telegraphic communication with us as soon as you receive this."

Homer evidently complied in a dutiful manner, for a few days later his sister, Mary, wrote her relief "that you are still alive" and reflected "what a rough life you must be living."

Homer stayed on in the woods and started building the cabins, with the help of the settlers on nearby claims. Shortly after Christmas, 1889, Sarah and Eliza arrived in Ashland, Wisconsin, ready to begin their homestead life.

It must have been a strange experience for these well-bred Boston women, for nothing in their genteel background could have fully prepared them for the rigors of wilderness living. Eliza was sixty years of age, Sarah about two years younger. Their ambivalence towards this new experience was expressed in a letter from Eliza to her sister-in-law, Martha Clark, when she described "the strange sensation of being in a place where we have neither seen nor heard of any one of its people." Despite this apprehension, however, a hint of anticipation was conveyed in her thanks for the Christmas gifts of shuttlecocks (cork birds for the game of battledore and shuttlecock, forerunner of badminton) and Hudson River scenes "which I think we shall enjoy in our Wild Wood Life."

Words flowed vividly from Eliza's pen, as she elaborated on the small day-to-day events in their strange new life, including details that Homer's hurried letters often omitted. It was Eliza who reported their disappointment at the Ashland land office when attempts to file their applications were rejected because of pending railroad legislation. Later, after consulting an attorney, they sent forth to the land office in Washington an appeal for their "rights."

The claims the Clarks hoped to obtain lay within the railroad grant limits but were listed as part of the land restored to the public domain under the Adjustment Act of March 3, 1887. The Clarks, as well as the throngs of

eager landseekers who crowded the Ashland land office, were aware that the date of filing, as well as the length of residence, would be important "proof" in determining priority of claims and in the issuance of final patents. However, the procedure to follow was far from clear. Even land-office officials were confused because the law itself was unclear. New laws were passed and old ones repealed, so that it was often difficult to apply the guidelines to specific circumstances.

The primary purpose of the land laws was to foster agriculture and to produce a nation of small farmers. It was unrealistic to apply the land laws based on an agrarian community to the timberlands of northern Wisconsin, but with few exceptions, Congress ignored the fact. It was a lumberman's domain, neither the soil or climate being suited for farming. Consequently, large and choice tracts of pine land were fraudulently entered under the homestead law by persons in the employ of lumber companies and real estate speculators, using any pretext in order to give a semblance of compliance with the regulations as to settlement.

Under either the Pre-emption Act of 1841, or as homesteaders under the Homestead Law of 1862, claimants were entitled to 160 acres of land. Hundreds of thousands of pioneers had obtained land free, or at nominal cost, under these laws. There seemed no reason why the Clarks could not do the same. If they were successful, they could acquire a total of 480 acres of valuable timberland. It was a dazzling prize and seemed well worth the hardships that must be endured to obtain it.

The loose administration of the land laws, which had enabled the big lumber companies with political backing to acquire the timberlands, was subjected to the disapproving eye of public opinion in the late 1880s. In 1889 Benjamin Harrison became president of the United States and appointed John W. Noble to be his secretary of the interior. Noble was sensitive to the change in public opinion regarding land-law abuses, and, won over by the reformist elements in his department, he supported efforts to correct these abuses. At this time the land laws were most flagrantly manipulated in the mountain

states and in the remote timbered regions of the lake states, including northern Wisconsin.

The rejection of their applications at the land office was a rude introduction to their new environment for Homer Clark and his aunts, and made them keenly aware of the formidable odds they faced. Until the surplus railroad lands were officially restored to the public domain, their rights would remain uncertain.

Whatever misgivings the Clarks may have experienced after their defeat at the land office, they still appeared eager to begin their wilderness adventure. Eliza wrote whimsically that their horse would arrive in a few days, and "the two human beings, Sarah and myself, will be hauled in sometime this week."

January, 1890, marked the beginning of their residence in the Wisconsin woods. Suddenly they had acquired the status of "settlers." Eliza wrote: "Homer is in the woods now, really rushing it, with the many men who have been placed under his care. This large body of men seem to be almost at his disposal so he can make rapid progress."

Charles Houlton was in charge of getting the settlers established on their claims. He appointed Homer storekeeper and located the camp for supplies on his claim. A road was to be built from Iron River directly to Homer's claim to facilitate the transportation of provisions.

Homer had worked long hours with the men on neighboring claims to build the simple cabins that would be their homes until time and weather permitted the construction of more substantial housing. The men pooled their strength and skills to build the cabins, chop wood for fuel and cooking, and fell trees to make logging roads (called "swamping" the roads) as they moved from one claim to another.

The arduous task of getting settled left little time for correspondence. Homer sent an apologetic letter to his parents in late January, describing the chaotic circumstances that had delayed his writing. A major problem was the difficulty in getting supplies. Food, chairs, and stoves that had been ordered were slow in arriving, and even when they did reach Bayfield, transportation into the woods was uncertain over icy winter roads.

These were the predictable frustrations of getting settled in their new community. The real problems that would hover like a dark cloud over their lives in the pine woods, emerged early and in full force. Before they had lived on their claims a month, Eliza's claim was "jumped." A week later the same men started to build a cabin on Homer's claim. Homer wrote his father: "When I saw they had jumped my claim I went down to see them and told them to build a good one as a good shanty down there would be handy for me."

The men told Homer they were building for themselves, a story he promptly discounted when he learned that they worked for the Cranberry Lumber Company. Despite his youth and inexperience, Homer immediately recognized the serious threat they faced from timber trespass. He feared that their timber would soon disappear if the lumber company could not be stopped.

The courts were dealing leniently with timber thieves. In the first place, suspected theft was difficult to prove, but more important, the large lumber companies controlled the politicians, so there was little protection for the homesteader in legislation to prevent this injustice. In 1855 John W. Wilson, a forthright commissioner of the General Land Office, appointed a number of timber agents to prevent cutting on the public lands. The lumbermen united in a common protest to their Washington representatives, which promptly led to the dismissal of the commissioner and the special agents he had appointed. From that time on, timber stealing was carried on with impunity. The task of enforcing the regulations against timber trespass was left to officials of local land offices. These men, already overworked, were often friendly to the lumbermen who were violating the law. Such a relationship was not one to ensure vigorous enforcement against illegal timber removal.

Homer wrote often to his father and to Charles Houlton, requesting information and advice. His chief concern was how quickly the adjustment would be made on railroad lands so that the surplus would be opened to settlement. Until the settlers obtained title, they had little redress from timber theft. Charles Clark relayed

his son's concern to Horatio Houlton, who was in Washington, D.C., conferring with members of Congress to urge the passage of the land grant forfeiture bill.

In early March, Houlton informed the Clarks that the bill for forfeiture of the unearned lands held by the Wisconsin Central Railroad "which includes Homer's land" had been favorably viewed by the House committee. Houlton assured them that if it passed the committee it would cut off all contest under the railroad law and give the settlers "a clean track."

Homer received this news with no discernible relief. He had hoped for more substantial evidence that the settlers would be treated fairly. From what he had read in the newspapers, he was not certain that this bill would apply to them since the Wisconsin Central Railroad had been forced to relinquish to the government over half of its land grant due to delays in construction and select "lieu lands" in North Dakota. Some of the Wisconsin Central land had subsequently been given to the Omaha Railroad.

The land laws had become a briarpatch of tangled and incongruous provisions. The whole of west central and northwest Wisconsin was blanketed with overlapping railroad land grants, interwoven with private and public holdings. Both the North Wisconsin and West Wisconsin Railroad companies, like the Wisconsin Central, had received large land grants. The North Wisconsin built the lines to Bayfield and Ashland, but as a result of mergers, the grants went to the Omaha Railroad, which later became part of the Chicago and Northwestern.

The settlers hoped the passage of the forfeiture bill would define their rights by designating the location of lands to be opened for settlement. While their fate as potential land owners hung in the balance, it was necessary to concentrate on the practical problems of wilderness living.

These problems were made easier by the spirit of cooperation that existed among the settlers. The one notable exception was a man named Woodruff who had been appointed storekeeper for another group of settlers locat-

ed south of the Clark claims. The arrangement had been made for Homer Clark and Woodruff to haul in supplies in their respective areas. Woodruff ignored the rules laid down by Charles Houlton, and, when he ran short of supplies, Woodruff helped himself freely to Homer's provisions. The friction between the two men was described by Homer in a letter to his parents: "The man is a regular liar. He came with his team and, without a word, seized a good part of the stores outside and sent his man to ask for the stores inside the storehouse, saying that Charlie Houlton had given permission."

According to Eliza, Homer kept a "cool exterior" the first time his supplies were taken. When Woodruff again appeared, the next day, Homer stepped out and had "a short and decided talk about the matter."

"But I was mad through" she quoted her nephew. Eliza described her reaction to the quarrel: "Sarah and I were raving inside, while we peered through the cracks in the door at proceedings outside." She apologized for dwelling on "such a disagreeable subject" and dismissed Woodruff as a "most contemptible man."

Homer's letters home chronicled the trouble between the men. After a particularly stressful encounter with Woodruff he wrote: "Our trouble goes merrily on, waxing worse every day." Not only was Woodruff continuing to seize supplies, but Homer feared that he was also opening his mail. In a despondent letter to his father he expressed the desire to be relieved of the job of storekeeper, at the same time asking his father to send a "38 new model [1889] side-ejecting rifle," emphasizing that it should be tested to shoot exactly as sighted. Homer explained that he felt it was necessary to have a gun in the cabin when he was off in the woods. Sarah also wrote Charles Clark requesting a gun, while Eliza wondered if he might, at his convenience, send three good padlocks.

Whatever hardships Homer anticipated when he went into the pine woods, it is clear from his letters that he was not prepared to deal with men like Woodruff. Nothing in his background had conditioned him for the confrontations he described. He felt a deep sense of responsibility to protect his aunts from these disagree-

able scenes and wrote to his father for advice. Charles Clark suggested that his son should take a stronger stand, prompting a quick response from Homer defending his position: "You wrote that I ought not to let him take the stuff. I should have had to stop him with a rifle, and with ladies present, that would not do."

In the same letter he observed that nearly every lumberjack in the woods was in trouble with the settlers and quoted a lumberman as saying "If the Northwest had been searched all over, a worse crowd could not have been got together."

Life in the woods might have appeared tolerable and the events with Woodruff dismissed as an unpleasant chapter, if another problem had not appeared to create fresh anxiety. Homer was shocked to discover that a pair of his blankets had been stolen while he was away from his cabin. Inquiries to his neighbors failed to provide any information as to the identity of the culprit, but there was the likely, though unpleasant, suspicion that it was probably another settler, someone with a knowledge of his activities and easy access to his cabin.

Homer's reaction to these disillusioning events was discouragement rather than bitterness. In the light of his later achievements, perhaps these experiences equipped him with an early understanding of the vagaries of human nature and stimulated a precocious maturity. His Aunt Sarah was impressed with the confidence her nephew displayed in coping with difficult situations, "never losing his temper, yet never yielding one inch of ground."

For their part, Sarah and Eliza seemed to accept the challenges of homestead living with few complaints. Even the leaky roof of their cabin was reported calmly. Eliza commented in a matter-of-fact manner that by day she and Sarah could "run between the drops of water," but that they did both protest the "night baths." She reflected that it seemed surprising that they did not take cold, considering the dampness to which they were constantly exposed, adding, "For myself, I believe I am as tough as one of the pine knots around me."

The daily routine of housekeeping kept Sarah and Eliza too busy to dwell for long on the hardships of liv-

ing in a one-room cabin. There were meals to prepare for the rugged men who stopped frequently to chop wood and, with no conveniences, even the simple chores of washing clothes and keeping the cabin tidy required long hours of hard work. Eliza conferred by mail with Martha Clark on a variety of domestic matters. She wondered if cheese cloth would be best to tack on the cabin walls, or perhaps "common newspaper." Martha Clark wrote back suggesting calico. Eliza conceded that it would be prettier and stronger, but expensive since the cabin measured 19-by-15½ feet. Homer, upon hearing of the discussion, urged his aunt to have his mother send calico, prompting Eliza's conclusion that "Homer is looking forward to the move into better cabins as eagerly as Sarah and I."

In early April, Homer wrote his parents to report that the Cranberry Lumber Company had begun cutting timber on Eliza's claim and to inform them of his intention to go to Bayfield to seek an injunction. "I am praying for warm weather as that will stop them and I fear nothing else will unless you went down there with a rifle. One may be able to collect of the company, but I had a great deal rather have my timber standing."

He appeared to be indecisive about the proper course of action, adding that the other settlers had all let the company cut their timber. A mood of despondency was evident in his regret that his aunts had ever come to the woods and in his conclusion that "even if the Forfeiture Bill should pass, there is still too much uncertainty."

The trip to Bayfield relieved his anxiety to some extent. He wrote to say that, after talking to the manager of the Cranberry Lumber Company he had decided not to seek an injunction. Mr. Stevens, the manager, had assured him that his company only intended to cut between two hundred thousand and four hundred thousand feet, that they would keep a correct scale of what was cut, and had every intention of paying for the logs if the settlers got title. Homer described their talk as "pleasant" and remarked that after thinking things over he had decided to do nothing.

Winter that year had stretched interminably into a succession of cold, windy, gray days, until one night the wind diminished, as if exhausted from its fierce efforts, and spring came suddenly to the Wisconsin woods. In early April Homer and his aunts moved to their new cabins which were larger and more sturdily constructed. The move to more spacious quarters, coinciding with the arrival of spring, stimulated a new optimism. Homer wrote home that navigation would open soon and that steamboats would be coming their way. His supply team had made its last passage; the spring thaw left the roads too soft for hauling provisions. This condition was accepted patiently in the woods, even though it meant the temporary end of visits or mail from the outside world.

With the arrival of spring, the snow disappeared and streams ran night and day. It was the end of sleighing and the beginning of the breakup of the logging camps. There were nearly thirty camps within a ten-mile radius of Iron River, the town nearest to the Clark claims. Lumberjacks emerged from the woods and swarmed into the town like a cloud of locusts. After long months in the woods they were more than ready to celebrate. Since most of the "jacks" were young, single men, they had few concerns for tomorrow.

The village of Iron River had sprung up almost overnight when the coming of the Omaha Railroad brought hundreds of claim seekers to the area. Of the nearly 100 buildings in the town, more than one-third were saloons where lumberjacks squandered their hard-earned savings. They drank, fought, and gambled until their money was gone. Some moved on in a few days to the brighter lights of West Superior or Duluth. A few who had homes returned to them, and others looked for summer jobs in the mills.

Eliza wrote joyfully that her "last week's wail of 'woodman, spare that tree' has now changed to the pleasanter strain, 'the woodman's axe lies low.'" She attributed her cheerful mood to the breakup of the Cranberry Lumber Company's winter camp. "People say it is a good thing to have one's timber cut off thus," she continued, "but as for myself, I do feel better to have those 'mon-

archs' still standing." Some of these splendid white pines stood as high as two hundred feet, with diameters of five feet.

As the days grew longer and the sun warmer, life in the woods became pleasant. Now there were more opportunities to visit with neighbors. The simple freedom to move about in the vast outdoors was exhilarating after the long winter confinement in small cabins. With the emergencies of settlement and hostile weather behind them, the Clarks were able to relax and experience the pleasure that Eliza had envisioned "in a lodge in some vast wilderness."

Sarah Clark declined her brother Charles's invitation to visit the Clarks in St. Paul, saying that she and Eliza felt obliged to live on their claims "as faithfully as the law requires."

In June, Homer wrote to report that their blueberry crop looked good and should begin to ripen within the week. He talked of hiring pickers at one dollar a bushel and shipping out an average of fifty bushels a day. He estimated that they would sell for three to four dollars a bushel in St. Paul, "leaving a good, big profit."

Their idyllic life was frequently interrupted, however, by terse bulletins from Horatio Houlton, still in Washington, trying to steer the forfeiture bill through Congress. The reports from Houlton served as a reminder to the Clarks of the impermanence of their residence in the pine woods. Legislation was under way that would ultimately determine whether or not they held rights to the land. An adjustment of the Omaha land grant had been approved by Secretary of the Interior Noble in February, but the order had immediately been recalled pending legislation to restore unearned railroad lands to the market.

In June, Houlton wrote Charles Clark to say that the outlook seemed good for a successful ending of the land business, further reporting that he was working with Senators Washburn and Davis to hurry the opening of the land. "I do not think a single claim will be lost," he added. He also wondered if Charles Clark could

send a draft for fifty dollars, explaining, "I am very hard up here at the moment."

In July, Houlton sent the optimistic prediction that the forfeiture bill would soon become a law. He advised the Clarks to "stick close to your claims in order to make the six months continuous residence as soon after the bill becomes a law."

Two weeks later Houlton sent word to the woods that the forfeiture bill had passed both houses and was before the congressional committee. "The end is now in sight" he assured the Clarks.

But by now Homer had begun to mistrust the continuous flow of optimism from Horatio Houlton. In the middle of August, impatient for more reliable news, he boarded a Lake Superior tug at the Cranberry River for a trip to Duluth to see Charles Houlton. He hoped that Charles Houlton would find that they need not stay much longer on their claims in order to secure the land. Correspondence with his friends in St. Paul had made him painfully aware of the good times he was missing by remaining in the woods.

Evidently he failed to receive the reassurance he was seeking, for he lost no time in making preparations to catch a tug back to the Cranberry River. The unrewarding meeting with Charles Houlton had left him more discouraged than ever, and he dreaded the three-hour trip over the choppy lake back to the Cranberry River. He was certainly in no mood for the mishaps that befell him as he walked the docks of the Duluth harbor waiting for the tug. In a letter to his father, written from a coal dock while waiting, he described his frustration:

> Here I am, still disgusted with trying to catch a tug. Between weather breakdowns and general uncertainties, it seems almost impossible to catch one. I walked the dock all Wednesday night and a good part of last night, though I got some sleep on a bench the latter part of last evening. I went down to the tug dock an hour before the time of departure and went into the office to wait. The owner of the line said it would be leaving soon. After waiting over an hour, I learned that the boat had taken off without reporting for instructions.

Well, another boat was to start at midnight, coming in from the north shore and then going right out, so I walked round the docks all night watching for the boat, but she did not come and I nearly froze. At noon, the next day, the owner told us the next tug would not start until midnight, so I went to sleep in a coal office nearby and slept a couple of hours. The night watchman at the coal docks agreed to wake me up if the boat came in, so after walking the docks for hours, I went to sleep on a bench. This morning I learned that the tug came in yesterday afternoon, while I was asleep, and started right out again. They say she ought to be back and take out a shipment of coal tonight, but it is raining and there is a heavy north-east wind so she could not land on that shore while this wind lasts. I feel pretty mean, after not getting any sleep one night and only about half a night's sleep last night. I am also short of money, as I bought $9.00 worth of eatables which were loaded on the tug, bound for Michigan, that I missed the first night. I have made up my mind to take the first train for Iron River and I don't much think I will ever bother with a tug again.

In early September another gloomy letter from Homer reached his parents. He had discovered that one of the settlers on a nearby claim, a man he had considered a friend, was responsible for stealing his blankets. He wondered if it would pay to have him arrested, considering the expense of getting a constable to come and make an investigation. He mentioned that the same settler had stolen a pair of suspenders from a "Swede" and when the Swede had claimed them, the thief had "pitched into him."

Homer apologized for sending unpleasant news, explaining that he was short of sleep. His dog, Monk, had chased a skunk the night before and had sneaked into the cabin before Homer realized what had happened. Sleep was impossible until Aunt Sarah thought of putting spirits of camphor on a rag and laying the rag on the pillow. In the meantime, Monk had continued to howl and scratch on the door throughout the night.

Continuing in the same pessimistic mood, Homer lamented that his footgear had gone to pieces. His boots had a big hole in the toe and "Uncle George's" shoes were also giving out. Mail service, he complained, was

not as regular as before: "They ship in a keg of beer now and the mail men go on a drunk at Iron River so it makes it uncertain when they will be out."

Perhaps as an afterthought to the recital of calamities, Homer added the postscript: "We are having pleasant weather."

On September 29, 1890, Charles Clark sent his son a telegram containing long-awaited news. The forfeiture bill had passed. Railroads that had not finished their roads within the time prescribed by law must now return the land to the public domain. Contents of the bill were fully reported in the *Ashland Daily News*, making it clear that not until an adjustment of the Omaha grant had been reached would settlers know if they had located on forfeited land where the railroads had not been completed in the time prescribed by the law, or whether their claims were on surplus Omaha land which would eventually be thrown open to public settlement.

Surplus land from the large grants to the railroads had been withdrawn from public entry in 1882. In order to raise the capital they needed, the railroad companies sold large tracts of land to lumbermen and land speculators. The Adjustment Act of March 3, 1887, supposedly "closed the accounts," confirming the acreage to which the Omaha was entitled and restoring the surplus land to the public domain.

Now, with the passage of the forfeiture act, there was no further reason to delay the restoration to the public of the Omaha Railroad's one hundred thousand surplus acres. News that the Omaha lands would soon be opened raised new hope for the Clarks, initiating another period of patient waiting.

In late September the Cranberry Lumber Company returned to the woods and calmly resumed cutting on Eliza's claim. Homer had decided not to seek an injunction the previous spring, but the new insult was intolerable. Eliza, acting upon Homer's suggestion, sent a sternly worded letter of protest to the lumber company. The company not only ignored her letter but soon began building a logging railroad through her claim.

Charles Clark conferred with his brother George about the matter. From Boston came the indignant response: "I agree that it is a monstrous outrage that this Cranberry Lumber Company should come in and cut all the timber from Eliza's claim." George indicated his willingness to help and promised to write to the Secretary of the Interior. He cautioned Charles to proceed carefully and inquired, "Will it not be necessary for Eliza to prove property and have title before she can make a successful contest?"

A letter to Charles Clark from Senator C. K. Davis stated: "The remedy of your sister is in the courts. I suppose, of course, that her claim is valid and bona fide."

From Brule, Wisconsin, Horatio Houlton sent his contribution:

> . . . I believe it to be for the best interest of the settler to notify the lumber company and then allow them to cut as it will be sold for a good price. When the settler gets title there is no doubt but what he can collect for all trespass done after the date of settlement. . . .

On November 4, 1890, Homer Clark voted for the first time in Bayfield, Wisconsin. He reported a large turnout of voters from their Cranberry River settlement, all of whom were sent home in a tug, free of charge, by the Bayfield politicians.

The trip to Bayfield helped to relieve the monotony of waiting for the opening of the Omaha land, but Homer was becoming increasingly discouraged. Eliza wrote: "Homer is getting quite tired of this woods life, and it is a hard thing for a young man to give up society for so long a time. If he saw anything to be gained by it, he says he could bear it, but he thinks the chances for gaining the land are very small."

In early November Homer sent his father a letter from the General Land Office that had been printed in the *Ashland Daily News*. He underlined the controversial Section 5 of the Adjustment Act of March 3, 1887, which stated that individuals who had purchased land from

the railroads would have priority in proving up to obtain title. "Proving up" meant presenting proof to land office officials that the homesteader had lived on his/her claim the required time and met all other stipulations governing homestead claims. The Clarks had recently learned that the Cranberry Lumber Company intended to file a claim for the land. The secretary of the interior's interpretation of the Adjustment Act appeared to give the nod to the lumber company. Homer expressed his discouragement: "Things look pretty blue up here just now. We begin to think Secretary Noble will never issue his instructions for opening the land, and I don't think the Omaha adjustment will be made soon." He asked his father to forward the letter to Charles Houlton and ask for an explanation.

Charles Houlton responded promptly that it was his understanding that the Omaha's grant was fully adjusted and that notice for the date of filings would soon be announced. He encouraged Charles Clark to write to the commissioner of the General Land Office to stop the cutting on Eliza's claim and repeated the conviction of his father, Horatio, that once the settlers obtained title, they would be able to collect from the lumber company.

Charles Clark followed Houlton's advice and wrote the General Land Office in Washington to protest the cutting on Eliza's claim. A month later the assistant commissioner of the Land Office sent a disheartening reply:

> You ask if the timber cutting on your sister's claim cannot be prevented. You are advised that the tract books of this office show that the above land is within the common limits of the grants to the Wisconsin Central Railroad and the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railroad Company and was selected by the Omaha March 10, 1885, the Wisconsin Central having selected lieu lands in North Dakota. There is no settlement filing or entry for the said tract on record in this office, and as the probability is that the railroad's selection thereof will be approved, parties settling thereon must take the risk of losing the land and whatever improvements they may have placed thereon.

The commissioner washed his hands of the matter by concluding, "the timber cutting described is a problem in which this office cannot properly interfere." The wording of the letter, cold and concise, left no encouragement for official help in stopping the cutting. The only hope lay in obtaining title to the land.

A few days later, Eliza sent a cheerful letter from the woods: "We certainly are comfortably situated here. My cabin seems very cosy to me and Sarah seems perfectly satisfied with hers. Still all the time we wish that slow Secretary Noble would speak out and let us know our fate."

Secretary Noble "spoke" on December 19, 1890, ordering some one hundred thousand acres of surplus Omaha land restored to the public domain. The announcement was made that, following ninety days' notice by the local land office, these lands would be open to entry and settlement under the general land laws.

The secretary's announcement gave a surge of new hope to the settlers, but Homer was worried about the Cranberry Lumber Company's contest for the land. Soothing words from Charles Houlton attempted to allay Homer's anxiety. Houlton wrote: "I rest easy as to the construction Secretary Noble will put on the Adjustment Act of March 3, 1887, as we have a decision from him on a case identical to yours in which he held for the settler."

After the Christmas holiday, Eliza wrote to thank Martha Clark for their "Christmas books": "Sarah is at my side deep in the 'Squire' which she says is ably written, adding, 'This is no common affair.' I have not yet read the book of sermons you sent me but I expect to enjoy it. Sarah says, 'you can't go to church; now you can read sermons.' "

Eliza told Martha Clark not to bother to send any more supplies as they might not be in the woods beyond the ninety-day period for "proving up." She reflected, "If only the land news will keep good. The encouragement from Secretary Noble's words, so unexpected of him, gives a zest to every pleasure."

On January 16, 1891, the land officers in Ashland published a list of the surplus Omaha lands to be restored to

the public domain on April 17, together with a notice that purchasers under Section 5 of the Adjustment Act of March 3, 1887, must come forward and submit proof within ninety days. The Clark claims were listed in the restored lands. The notice further stated that purchasers from the railroad would have precedence in submitting proof and that settlers on these lands, while they were in a state of reservation, were entitled to no rights.

The flickering hope that had kept the Clarks close to their claims was quietly extinguished by this notice. Homer sent a copy of the notice to his father and expressed his discouragement:

> I feel pretty blue to have such a wet blanket thrown on things when I thought the news was becoming more favorable for us. You will see that Section 5 of the law of March 3, 1887, gives purchasers from a railroad company the right to prove up. The Secretary claims we have no rights and that the lumber company can prove up. The government held that our land came under the Omaha indemnity and had nothing whatever to do with the Forfeiture Bill. It seems to me this is equivalent to a final decision against us.

A few days later Homer sent another letter to his father, saying he thought it was time for them to leave the woods: "If the Houltons still have confidence perhaps they can find someone to buy us out, for it seems nothing can be done for a long time and then the only probable chance is by a big legal fight."

Charles Houlton attempted to bolster Homer's confidence by citing cases in which the secretary of the interior had made exceptions to the Adjustment Act of March 3, 1887, and decided in favor of settlers. Houlton's letter ended eloquently:

> If the local land office decides against us we should give world-wide publicity that this Government who pretends to be restoring 100,000 acres of land is allowing four or five corporations to take all this land and defeat 200 settlers. I cannot bring myself to believe that they can steal this land from us, and I think right and justice is on our side.

Homer received no comfort from Houlton's words. "It is the same thing over again," he wrote his father, "the smooth, oily talk, which sounds so nice and tends to make you hang on, yet it seems to me we ought to pull out and leave. I am inclined to hang on until our case comes before the land office and the commissioner. A fellow hates to pull out after putting so much in."

On January 18, 1891, the following item appeared in the Social and Personal column of the *Ashland Daily News:* "John Canfield, the lumber king of Mainstee, Michigan, was in town yesterday looking after his interests at the land office."

Canfield's arrival in Ashland, two days after the ninety-day notice for purchasers from the railroad to submit their proof, had grave implications for the Clarks in their contest for the land. Homer and his aunts were not prepared for a new competitor. The Houltons had encouraged them to believe that the Cranberry Lumber Company's contest might be eliminated on the grounds that they were not "bona fide" settlers, but Canfield's claim to the land could not be easily brushed aside.

John Canfield's extensive purchases from the Omaha Railroad dated from 1885, giving him a clear track under the crucial Section 5 of the Adjustment Act of March 3, 1887. Two years after the purchase of the land from the railroad company, Canfield sold the choice timberland to a group of lumbermen from Saginaw, Michigan, for the sum of $449,259. These men, who organized the Cranberry Lumber Company, received a warranty deed from Canfield, dated April 1, 1887.

There was nothing in the laws to prevent purchasers from the railroads from selling to others. Evidently Michigan laws pertaining to business associations must have been lax, for the Articles of Association of the Cranberry Lumber Company were not filed until February 3, 1900.

John Canfield was sixty-one at the time and had grown up in the lumber business, having worked in his father's lumber yard since he was a young man. A leading lumber

publication of this period praised Canfield as "a man of strictest probity" and evaluated his achievements:

> Time would fail to exploit all the various business combinations with which Mr. Canfield has been connected since he took up his residence in Mainstee. Probably no man in the state or nation has been more extensively engaged in operations involving the ownership of timberlands and the manufacture of lumber.

Homer wrote to inform his parents of the discouraging new development:

> It is a three-cornered fight now. The Cranberry Company has advertised to prove up on these lands, March 4. Also, John Canfield from whom the Cranberry Company bought these lands and who I hear is foreclosing on the Cranberry Company. You see the Cranberry Company do not want to pay Canfield for this portion of the lands, as they claim he gave them no title, so he is trying to get title in this way. . . .

To add to Homer's despair, Eliza had decided that she could not swear to the question that would be asked at the land office when they went to file: "Do you swear to make this entry in good faith for the exclusive purpose of establishing a home and farm for yourself and family?" At the last minute Eliza had decided that, since she and Sarah did not intend to live on the land, it would not be honest to answer affirmatively to the question.

Eliza elaborated on her feelings in a letter to her brother Charles:

> I have been greatly worried of late about our right to hold these claims even if the Cranberry Lumber Company and Mr. Canfield lost their cases. After earnest thought I have come to the conclusion that unless we agree to become real settlers, which Sarah and I could not, we have not the right, and so I want to give up the whole thing at once, before we have involved anyone in more expense for us.

It was obvious that Eliza had agonized over her decision. She continued to explain the reason for her new attitude:

Before leaving Boston, I never dreamed but that all was fair and square. At St. Paul, Mr. Houlton said something at your office one day about it being rather difficult sometimes to answer the question whether you were going to make the claim your home. That troubled me, so before asking Homer to get Sarah a claim, I talked to him about it and understood that the question was designed to keep corporations out. Now and then something of the kind has been said, but always it has been turned off by somebody in that way till, of late, I have rested pretty easy about it. Still I never could feel quite right. Now I see my way clear and mean to walk straight by that light and be happy, which I can be in no other way.

Eliza's struggle with her conscience must have introduced a bewildering element into the contest for the land, considering the serious threats presented by Canfield and the lumber company. Homer was ready to leave the woods but admitted that he was in a quandary whether to sell out, saying that he hated to give up.

A letter from Charles Houlton informed Homer's parents that a meeting would be called of all settlers on purchased lands for the purpose of hiring attorneys to represent them when they presented their case at the Ashland land office.

A week later the final battle in the struggle for the land took place at the land office. Twenty-three settlers, including Homer and his aunts, appeared to protest John Canfield's claim. A report of the case appeared on the front page of the *Ashland Daily News* on March 5, 1891, under the headline A VALUABLE CLAIM, and read as follows:

The land office was thronged with listeners and persons interested in the contest case being tried there yesterday. John Canfield, a prominent lumber dealer of Mainstee was present to make applications for patents on land in townships 49 and 50

in range 7 west. The land in question is the most valuable piece yet contested and is estimated to be worth at least $300,000.

The names of the protesting settlers were published and included H. P. Clark, Sarah Clark, and Eliza Clark Darrah.

The outcome of the contest was predictable, considering Secretary Noble's decision that purchasers from the railroads had priority in proving up. On May 3, 1891, the *Ashland Daily News* reported that the land officials had approved Canfield's applications and recommended the issue of final patents. In the meantime, and for many years thereafter, the Cranberry Lumber Company continued to strip the timber from the land, under the warranty deed it had been given by Canfield.

The Clarks left the woods in early April, shortly before the long line formed for filing of applications on the Omaha land. The event was given daily coverage in the local press as hundreds of eager land seekers endured more than a week's exposure in bone-chilling weather. The Ashland newspaper captured the mood of the filers in a dramatic account published April 5, 1891:

> . . . The line of filers still lengthens and extends far to the rear of the land office. Fully 250 are still either sitting or standing in the slush and mud, and the effects of the terrible exposure they are undergoing are plainly visible in the faces of many. The loss of sleep is doing much to make the eyes of the men look dim. Many are already suffering from colds. The crowd is very sullen and ere the time for filing arrives they will undoubtedly not be in a very pleasant mood and any indications of trickery would result seriously to all engaged in it. Throughout the long, patient waiting, the only trouble occurred when a pistol shot was fired by a man who claimed another man had usurped his position in line.

Whether this isolated incident formed the basis for Secretary Noble's subsequent action is unknown. On April 16, 1891, the day before the filings were to be received, Secretary Noble abruptly withdrew his order for the opening of the Omaha land, stating that he had been

informed that "250 armed men are in line who threaten violence if their filings are not received in the order the men desire."

The reaction of those in line was stunned disbelief that such a thing could happen. Some thought it was a hoax, and others could not believe that such a ruling could be made at the eleventh hour. There was no disturbance or uproar of any kind, but not one of the filers made a move to leave the line. A few days later, however, when there was no further reason to hope, the settlers picked up their belongings and left quietly for their homes.[1]

The *Ashland Daily News* severely criticized the secretary of the interior in an editorial that appeared the day after the withdrawal of the order to open the land:

> Settlers upon the Omaha lands have excellent reason to complain of the administration which has permitted, if not encouraged them to believe that settlement would constitute a prior right to make a filing and give the honest settler the natural advantage of his enterprise and diligence. The lands were declared in a state of reservation many months ago. Had the Secretary then given notice that settlers would be treated as "invaders" he would have saved several thousands of hard-working people many months of wasted time, energy and money.

An editorial in the *Ashland Daily News* commented cynically on the land agent's role in the struggle for the land:

> In the grand scramble for land in the north woods, there may be more losers than winners. Enterprise is an excellent thing in its way and when well directed may lead on to that fortune which nature offers to each one of her children, but it may well be doubted if many will realize on an investment of time, strength, health and money in the search for a timbered Eldorado in Northern Wisconsin. The main chance offered

1. On November 2, 1891, the Omaha lands were restored to the public domain. Only 140 of the 500 applications were accepted.

the great mass of contestants is that of paying the land shark for false information and getting a sore toe.

It is not clear, from the available correspondence, if the Clarks were reimbursed by the Houltons for the money spent to locate them on their claims. However ill-advised they may have been by their land agents, the greatest disservice was performed by the land officials who encouraged settlers to stake out claims, at the same time withholding information concerning their rights.

Despite their failure to obtain the land and the many frustrations they endured, the Clarks unanimously spoke with fond memory of their wilderness life. A warm and enduring friendship developed between the two aunts and Andrew Greening, a young man who had staked a neighboring claim to Eliza. Long after they had returned to Boston, the women corresponded with Greening and exchanged Christmas remembrances. When Eliza was in her eighty-fourth year, Homer received a letter from Greening, requesting a personal favor. Greening wrote:

. . . You may not be aware of the fact that I have had letters from Mrs. Darrah and Miss Clark every year since they left the northwest country and that they have always remembered me at Christmas. Now they are getting very old and can't live a great many more years, still I hope they will. Since I will most likely not hear of the death of either Mrs. Darrah or Miss Clark until after they are buried, I wonder if you would get a few flowers and place on the bier and afterwards send me a word of the cost and I will send you the money at once. I want those flowers placed there with a tag marked Andrew J. Greening and Family. It will please the one that is left after the other goes to the hereafter. I write this in confidence out of a desire to pay my respects to good friends from the Wisconsin woods. . . .

Homer Clark entertained no bitterness for the conspiracy of events that prevented him from obtaining the land. Perhaps he took pride in the knowledge that

in staking out claims, he and his aunts had participated in an experience that is a fascinating part of our country's history. After the repeal of the Pre-emption Act, by the Act of March 3, 1891 (26 Stat. 1095), homesteading was rare.

As he grew older, Homer Clark would often visit the pine land of northern Wisconsin in the fall, when the leaves were turning. We can only imagine what his thoughts might have been as he surveyed the land he once hoped to own. Perhaps he gave a brief, nostalgic sigh for that inexperienced young man from St. Paul who dreamed of finding a timbered Eldorado in the Wisconsin woods and learned instead valuable lessons in politics, law, and the workings of human nature.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Personal World of Homer P. Clark

HAPPY TO BE BACK in St. Paul, Homer Clark, now twenty-two, began looking for a suitable position in the business world and at the same time embarked on having the good times he had missed so much during his north-woods life in Wisconsin.

Word soon spread that Clark was back and he was quickly swept up in St. Paul's social whirl. That spring of 1891 and for many years to come, the young bachelor was to entertain, and be entertained by young ladies and gentlemen from St. Paul's most eminent families. Their family names can be found in any early history of St. Paul or Minnesota: Hill, Forepaugh, Lindeke, Van Slyck, Finch, Hersey, Abbott, Furness, Stem, Cutler, Upham, Wemott, DeCoster, Tighe, Gotzian, Saunders, Lowry, Ordway, Griggs, Sturgis, Noyes, Dousman.

From these families came the builders of St. Paul and of Minnesota; the philanthropists; the founders of the Town and Country Club and the White Bear Yacht Club, the Curling Club, and the Minnesota Club; creators of hotels, mansions, churches, libraries, and developers of businesses.

Homer Clark's circle of friends extended far beyond Minnesota because of his family's eastern connections. He was a welcome guest in homes in New York, Boston, Cape Cod, and Chicago. He corresponded regularly with dozens of friends and entertained them when they visited St. Paul, as many did because of Minnesota's highly praised scenery and enjoyable summer climate.

In pretelephone days, of course, letter writing was a necessity to keep in touch with friends, and Clark appears to have been extraordinarily diligent in his efforts to do so in spite of a professed dislike for writing letters. Notes flew frequently between him and his young friends in these years; often one of the Clark household staff members delivered the letters. (First-class postage was two cents an ounce.)

THE BACHELOR YEARS

Clark kept many of the letters and invitations received during these bachelor years (1886–1910), and from them we can picture the social life of the well-to-do of the Twin Cities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Germans (parties at which only the cotillion, an eighteenth-century French quadrille, was danced), house parties, picnics, horseback riding, tobogganing, bicycling, tennis, whist, travel—these were the recreations of the day. Clark enthusiastically participated in all of them. Bicycling was a new sport and going on a "Century" was the thing to do in the late 1890s. In St. Paul, Clark was one of the first young people to complete this 100-mile bicycle ride.

From Clark's letters we learn, too, that he ordered many of his clothes from Boston from his Uncle George Clark's tailor. For a dress suit purchased in 1895 he paid $75 less the discount allowed his uncle of $3.75. His fashionable, high-buttoned shoes were procured, too, through eastern relatives.

Coming social events were the main conversation topics among Clark's young friends. Seldom were they guilty of any kind of gossip in their letters; this was not socially acceptable. A close cousin might write to Clark that "so and so were still intimate," (meaning they were seeing a lot of one another). If cousins did indulge in a bit of gossip there was always a plea for secrecy and one was honor-bound to keep the secret.

In the late 1880s and 1890s Fort Snelling was the center for many important social events, and Clark was invited to many of them, as he had close friends in several military families. His dance programs from evenings at Fort Snelling show that he usually danced every dance of an evening, but which young ladies were his favorites cannot be told, as his handwriting was all but illegible. Popular dances of Clark's day were the lancers, the two-step, the waltz, polka, and schottische. Enclosed with every invitation from Fort Snelling was a small printed card saying, "The Fort Snelling car that passes Seven Corners at 7:35 p. m. will be met at the bridge by a conveyance. The car leaving Fort Snelling at midnight will connect with the last Cable Car at Seven Corners." Whether Clark traveled to Fort Snelling by cable car or drove his horse and carriage is not known. We can imagine he did both, depending on the weather.

The card game of whist was the rage in the East and when it came to Minnesota, Clark and his friends took it up eagerly. The game intrigued Clark so much, in fact, that he sometimes penciled out "mock" whist hands on scrap paper and sent them to his young lady friends to see what they thought of his strategies. Caroline Saunders and Lillian DeCoster were two of his whist partners; these young ladies and Clark belonged to a whist club which also had as one of its members Miss Edith Forepaugh.

Clark's sister, Mary, figured strongly in his social life. Frequently he escorted her to parties; each introduced the other to their friends. Between 1890 and 1894 Mary Clark was attending Smith College so was home only during vacations, but she and her brother were very close. They corresponded regularly and often he would meet Mary in Chicago where they would visit friends, go to museums, attend plays, and dine out. In the winter of 1897 Mrs. Clark took Mary to Europe, leaving Homer Clark and his father to "batch it," which occasioned the following comments from Homer's Uncle George Clark:

Dear Homer:

You and your father must be having quite a fine time now, for of course, you are running the house to suit yourselves, which probably means that you are all away from home . . and only swing around just in time to get a Welsh rarebit before retiring. Suppose your mother and Mary are making the best of the lovely climate of the South of Europe, while we are suffering from blizzards . . . to say nothing of McKinley and his impending steal. I believe you call it 'protection.' You don't know how tired it makes me feel every time I . . . recall that I cast a vote last Fall for the Republican candidate. Feared I was to be betrayed. Now I realize it. There is nothing like experience to teach us wisdom.

In her last year of college Mary Clark had trouble learning Greek, which threatened her being graduated from Smith. Her father wrote her: "You are so timid and weak at examinations that you might fail if you lacked confidence in your qualifications. It seems funny to me that you and Homer are so different; under such circumstances the less he knows the more fearless and brazen he becomes."

In 1893 Homer met Mary in Chicago and they returned to St. Paul by way of Mackinac Island and Sault St. Marie, their first trip to that area. In writing Mary to make plans for this trip, he also included some local news:

The Peaveys are in Chicago now and the Uphams will be there in a few days. Mary Bass is there, Helen Warner and Maud Winslow are going down tomorrow. . . . Well, I could name a lot more but we do not want to see many of them.

I have not heard anything about the tennis tournament yet . . . I hear it might be in Minneapolis this summer, then I heard it might be at Lake Park; if it is there it will be very difficult for St. Paul people to get to and from. The Oldenburgs will be very likely at Hotel St. Louis this summer and it will be quite handy to have Mr. O. as a chaperone and a boat there to use.

One wonders just how Homer Clark managed to juggle his heavy work and social schedule. In 1892 he had found a job at West Publishing Company and his schedule was very demanding with its nine-hour day, six-day week. But he missed few social events, traveled extensively, and from 1892 to 1894 attended night school at the University of Minnesota to earn a law degree. Part of the answer to his handling so many diverse activities lay in his exceptional organizational ability and the ease with which he learned. Also, he lived at home with his parents; the Clarks had household help, and until his father died in 1907, Homer Clark was relatively free from family responsibilities. After his father's death there was much he could and did do for his mother.

Except for one summer at White Bear Lake, Homer Clark was to live at home until he married. "Home" after 1885 when the Clarks returned from Europe was 553 Ashland. In 1891–92 they built a large frame house at 467 Holly Avenue after a great deal of planning. Clark was to mention often in later years the care given to its design and construction. The house could hold 100 guests and often did. Martha Clark entertained her Monday reading circle and church groups; Homer Clark brought guests home often, and many Boston and Cape Cod relatives found their way to St. Paul to visit the Clarks.

As the years passed and Clark's pleasant social life continued unabated, no one girl emerged his favorite;

his parents began to wonder if he were ever going to marry. Like most young people, he liked to keep his personal affairs to himself, so his parents did not always know what he was thinking. His friends usually wrote him in care of the West Publishing Company, though this may have been because more frequent mail deliveries were made to businesses than to residences and many letters to Clark required an immediate reply.

Occasionally there was a flicker of romantic interest in some young lady, but nothing came of it. A story has come down through the years that he wished to marry Miss Violet Lee Dousman, daughter of Hercules Dousman, an eminent Wisconsin business man who owned Villa Louis (now a Wisconsin museum) in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. Miss Dousman, though six years younger than Homer Clark, invited him to Villa Louis several times and corresponded with him occasionally, but was not interested in marrying him. In fact, in the opinion of one of Miss Dousman's cousins, Mrs. John S. Pillsbury, Violet treated Clark "rather cruelly," encouraging a friendship in some ways, rejecting it in others.

But though there may not have been romance between Homer Clark and any of his young lady friends over the years, there is no doubt that his company was very much enjoyed or that he was highly respected and considered a person who was a great deal of fun to be with. Typical of the numerous invitations to him is this one from Miss Edith Inez Elliott: "If you have no engagement for next Thursday evening, you may come and take me driving if you like. If the weather be bad and we couldn't drive, I should be pleased to have you simply come and call."

Laura and Anna (Anita) Furness, granddaughters of Minnesota's Governor Alexander Ramsey, were close friends of Clark's, and his name was occasionally linked romantically with Laura's. Anna was about eight years younger than Clark; Laura, fourteen years younger. But as he told his children, "It was Anita who was really my favorite." He described her as "full of life," and like her mother, Mrs. Charles Furness (Marion Ramsey), "the grand lady type." He liked them both very much,

however, and they were to be his guests in Cape Cod when he acquired a summer home there. The Furness sisters were close friends of Clark and his family all of their lives.

By many people, Homer P. Clark was considered "the nicest person they had ever met." Fondness for him is reflected in all of the many letters he received from young ladies; his kindness and courteousness particularly pleased them. Just why he did not find the right woman for so long is a mystery. Parents of young women recognized his unusually fine character traits and his favorable social position and success in business; they thought him quite a suitable young man for a son-in-law. They made sure his name was on the guest list for their parties.

What some young ladies might have missed seeing in Clark was his delightful sense of humor and slightly whimsical side which could be very entertaining. Only with very close and trusted friends did his charmingly impish nature show—with them he might be found playing leapfrog on the lawn, hamming it up on the tennis court, or clowning for a friend-photographer. When alone with male friends he could even be a bit daring as a cutup. His public image, however, was always to be that of a quiet, conservative, and serious young man.

Clark was perhaps best known for his generosity with friends. All of his life he showered them with thoughtful, personally chosen presents. Often there was no special occasion for the gift; he only wanted to express his affection and friendship. In his papers are scores of thank-you notes from friends for "dainty books," "lovely calendars," "beautiful flowers," (most often violets, his favorite) "delicious nuts or candy." To friends getting married—a great many during Clark's twenty years of bachelorhood—he almost always gave lovely silver serving pieces. His children remember that he also often quietly sent money to friends in need; how much or how often will never be known as he seldom mentioned it. For example, they tell of his aiding a British widow, a long-time friend of the Clarks, after her husband had

died and World War II bombings had depleted her resources.

Clark's gentlemen friends were as numerous as his young lady friends. He played tennis with them, sailed at White Bear and Minnetonka, curled at the St. Paul Nushka Club with them, and enjoyed the recreational opportunities at the Town and Country Club in Como Park (a forty-minute drive by carriage from the foot of Summit Avenue). At the Town and Country there were sleighing, ice skating, parties, billiards and tobogganing.

Travel was the most popular pastime for Clark and his friends. Most of them like Clark, were as much New Englanders as Minnesotans, and they shuttled back and forth between the East coast and St. Paul several times a year. These were the days of the great steam locomotives and luxury trains, and traveling, though time-consuming and often tedious, could be a welcome change from routine. Railroads, to attract new customers, advertised "peerless" and "superb" dining cars, sleepers, and other creature comforts.

On June 18, 1901, Mary Clark married Charles H. Putnam of Fitchburg, Massachusetts, in the Clark home on Holly Avenue. The wedding provided a festive occasion for the Clark family and their wide circle of friends. The Reverend Richard Boynton of Unity Church performed the ceremony. The bride's maid of honor was Miss Louisa Jackson of Cambridge, Massachusetts. One of the wedding guests was Eliza Darrah (Mrs. Henry H.), the elderly aunt who had shared Homer Clark's Wisconsin woods experiences. Charles and Mary Putnam settled in Spokane, Washington, after their honeymoon, where Charles was employed by the Northern Pacific Railroad. (In 1921 the Putnams returned to St. Paul where they lived the remainder of their lives. Their children, Martha [Mrs. James Holman] and Henry, are still living in St. Paul.)

On December 9, 1900, Charles Putnam wrote his new brother-in-law, "I am very happy in the thought of having Mary's love and believe me, my one aim in life now is to strive to bring to her the happiness I know full well

she deserves." These were pleasing words to Homer Clark, for he cherished his sister dearly. In later years (1909), Clark helped the Putnams purchase a new Stoddard-Dayton automobile, which brought this response from Putnam:

> I cannot express to you in words my full appreciation of your generosity in contributing so handsomely to our pleasure . . . Your experience with the Stoddard-Dayton car certainly ought to be sufficient to satisfy you of the merits of same over other makes and what I have learned of its performance since I knew we were to have one convinces me of the superiority of the machine. Mary was quite delighted to learn of the tonneau [rear seating compartment] feature, believing it to be far more comfortable and safer for children than the rumble seats.

In 1905, when Clark was thirty-eight, an opportunity arose for him to strengthen his ties to the East and to keep the link to his Cape Cod ancestry strong. He had a chance to buy the Clark ancestral home in Brewster, Massachusetts, a house built in 1799 by Captain Isaac Clark, his great-grandfather. (The house had passed into another branch of the Clark family, ownership going from Captain Clark to his daughter Mary and her descendants). Except for quick action by a cousin of Homer Clark's, Julia Sears, the house might have gone out of the family. Julia, a student at Simmons College, was sitting in the college office and overheard a conversation about the president of the college having bought the Clark house. Julia quickly sent a telegram to Homer Clark, who immediately wrote the president asking that he be allowed to buy back the house in order to keep it in the family. The president agreed to let him do so. Clark's joy was unbounded. Nothing could have pleased him more than this opportunity to own the home where Clarks had spent such happy times swimming, clamming, sailing, and enjoying the rugged beauty of Cape Cod. A pond, orchard, and cranberry bog were connected with the property, lending it even more charm.

Clark purchased the home from his cousin, Mary Baker, who had moved to Middleford, Massachusetts, and left the property vacant. She had hoped to keep the home, but as time passed and the lovely, historic house stood empty month after month, her family finally thought about giving it up. They weren't happy about letting it go out of the family, so when Homer Clark was able to purchase it, they were delighted.

Mary Baker and Homer Clark spent many pleasant hours talking over what should be done to refurbish the old homestead. Mrs. Baker, as conscientious and honest as Clark, worried over every little thing that needed fixing, wishing she had the money to repair it so it could be deeded to him in perfect condition. Mrs. Baker owned several family antiques and though she hesitated to part with them, felt they belonged with the Clark house, so she sold them to Homer Clark.

In 1906 the deed to the Brewster property was signed over to Clark, and though he was desperately overburdened with work in New York and St. Paul, he immediately began plans for refurbishing and restoring the house to its original state.[1] His mother and father, now past seventy, went to Brewster to assist in supervising the repairing and decorating, and the hiring of a handy man and cook for Homer. Charles Clark's thoughts are not known as he worked on the house, but it must have been a nostalgic time for him. He had spent many happy days there with his grandfather. Lovingly Charles Clark went over every inch of the property to see what needed to be done. Later, Homer and his mother were grateful that he had had this time on the Cape, for in August, 1907, he died in St. Paul.

As for Homer Clark, a talent for decorating surfaced after he bought the house. He carefully worked out a decor for each room which would create the appropriate atmosphere for a colonial sea captain's eighteenth-century home. He personally purchased many antiques to

1. Because of its importance as a Massachusetts historic site, a chapter on this house is included later in this book.

enhance the airy, sunlit rooms and overall architecture of the structure.

Homer Clark planned a housewarming party at Brewster for the first week in September, 1907, and invited the Furness sisters and other St. Paul friends. (He had already entertained several of his friends in small groups soon after purchasing the house.) In the last week of August, however, Charles Clark became seriously ill. Homer stayed in St. Paul and sent his guests on ahead to Brewster, saying he would follow if he could leave his father. As it turned out, he was unable to join his guests as Charles Clark died on August 31, 1907. The funeral was held at 467 Holly.

In Brewster, the cook and all-round helper Homer Clark had hired took care of his house guests. A huge supply of food had been stocked and they enjoyed themselves immensely, though in a subdued manner in respect for the Clark family's loss.

In later years (until his marriage), Homer Clark was to hold many house parties at Brewster. His "crowd" was much younger than he at this point; friends of his own age were married and had children in school by this time. He was teased a great deal about his "young" lady friends, but he didn't mind. Typical of this teasing is the content of the following letter from Edward N. Saunders, Jr., in 1908, in which he regrets missing a house party which apparently was chaperoned by a Mrs. Stem:

> Dear Homer: After your house party is well on its way to recovery it is about time . . . to tell you that I'm sorry I couldn't go to it or say I'm coming. But you know that FOR A YOUNG AND INNOCENT BIRD LIKE ME THE CROWD IS TOO SWIFT and then Stemmie, Theodore and I all thought you wanted at least four girls all to yourself and not withstanding your most unselfish intentions, we didn't want to take any chances of spoiling your summer.

And in a letter the same day to Mary Clark, who was in Brewster with her brother, Saunders wrote, "Poor

Homer, I suppose he is engaged to you all by now and that makes Mrs. Stem (the chaperone) a Mormon!"

Such parties at Brewster worried Martha Clark just a bit. Although she knew they were properly chaperoned, and that her son was a responsible and well-behaved adult, she couldn't help "clucking" at him over one party he was to give in 1908. Her admonitions are somewhat amusing considering that her son was almost forty.

Dear Homer: I'm glad you wrote me of your house party, for it was in the papers here before I had heard of it and several are speaking to me and the reporters want to know who your men guests were to be. I had a call from Ned Young last week. Eliza told of calling at the Saunders lately when the postman brought mail, one letter being from you inviting, etc. etc. Was it Cornelia or Caroline you wrote to? Do be careful of their good name. With much love, Mother.

As the years passed, it began to look as though Homer Clark was to be "always an usher, never a bridegroom." He was subjected to a great deal of affectionate teasing at parties but he took it all good-naturedly and saved the many poems and valentines written about him in his box of souvenirs, now with the Homer P. Clark papers. Following are a few representative literary creations:

To Homer

Oh Homer dear
Be of good cheer
Your time is coming yet
Some distant day
I dare to say
That some maid you will get.

Oh Homer! Thou'rt a fickle one
And I can never tell
If you are fooling with me
Or like me pretty well.

At times I fear that all you say
Is merely tommy-rot,

And then my doubts are all dispelled
When you are on the spot.

But when you've gone the doubts return
My peace of mind to spoil
And I am glad to play with Mike
Although it makes me Boyle.

Sometimes when you, by some small act
Unknowingly offend,
To capture Meredith, at once
My energies I Bend.

And then again, when stung by pique
And deep resentment storin'
Perhaps I seem quite fond of Jack,
And Jack may seem a Doran.

And when my ever jealous mind
Your latest fancy learns,
Although I hide it from Fitzhugh
My heart with anger Burns.

At dances when with some shy bud
I see you in a corner,
And I am strolling by with Dick,
I often long to Warner.

And then when rampart jealousy
Almost disturbs my poise,
I sweetly smile on Winthrop,
And make a joyful Noyes.

"I wonder if there's any way
This fickleness to cure,"
I cry aloud in dumb despair
And echo answers "Sure."

I know some day a girl will come
And make an awful hit,
And Homer then will constant be,
But I will not be "it."

Of course it never could come true,
But wouldn't it be fine
If you should come to me and say
You'd be my valentine.

Homer Clark

Who led us three hours after dark,
Some forty miles round Merriam Park:
Who guided well our fleet ice barque;
Who's ever ready for a lark,
But yet is sure to make his mark
Why, no one else than H. P. Clark.

The following poem apparently was written by Clark about himself, revealing his ability to laugh at himself:

All girls look alike to me,
When I "yank" them from the sea,
Oh! How I long to really stand
With a nice dry girl on solid land
Until I've had a chance to be
In love with her, & she with me.

Obviously, of course, these poems were written as a result of some party pranks enjoyed by all.

Clark's years of bachelorhood were not all fun and frolic, of course. He was extremely busy with challenging assignments at West Publishing Company where he became treasurer in 1899, a move made possible partially by the fact that he had purchased a substantial amount of West stock, in addition to having proved he was a young man of outstanding ability.

Besides his busy social and business life Clark also became involved with the development of St. Paul. His lifetime pattern of civic involvement was clear very early, perhaps his first effort being to assist his associate at West Publishing, Charles Ames, in raising money for Unity Church hymn books. Both his upbringing and his own sense of responsibility led him into such work. An entire book would be needed to describe Clark's efforts on behalf of good government and the overall development of St. Paul and Minnesota. He came to be considered one of the most influential men in Minnesota.

All this will be talked of in future chapters, but Clark's romance with Elizabeth Turner Dunsmoor comes first, a romance which led to marriage at forty-one and more than sixty years of happiness.

ROMANCE AND MARRIAGE

By the time Homer Clark was going on forty, in 1908, his mother began to wonder if he would ever marry. She was trying to pick up the pieces of her own life now that her husband, Charles, was dead, and when toying with the idea of selling the family home at 467 Holly Avenue and moving to Florida permanently, she worried that her son would be without a home.

Undoubtedly Clark himself was wondering if he would ever marry and have a home of his own. While he was still goods friends with many young women (they were now *much* younger than he), marriage was not in the picture.

What no one knew at that time, including Clark, was that he had already met the young woman who would not only love him but give him her total devotion and affection for more than sixty years of married life. Her name was Elizabeth and he had met her at a White Bear house party (who the host and hostess were will probably never be known as no one thought to ask the Clarks before they died). "Elizabeth" was Elizabeth Turner Dunsmoor, daughter of Dr. Frederick A. Dunsmoor, a prominent Minneapolis physician, and Bessie Billings Turner Dunsmoor, descendant of a distinguished Minnesota pioneer family of eminent British ancestry.[2] The petite Elizabeth (called Betty by her parents, but Elizabeth by her friends, in her early years, and Bessie in her adult years) was twenty-two when Homer met her. A capti-

2. Elizabeth Emma Billings Turner, born in 1853, in Texas, was the last child of Dr. and Mrs. George Turner. Dr. Turner was a pioneer physician at Fort Snelling. He died the year Elizabeth was born. Dr. and Mrs. F. A. Dunsmoor were married in 1876.

vatingly charming young woman with expressive, large brown eyes, dark brown hair, and a sweet, pixie-like smile, Bessie Dunsmoor was very much the proper young lady of her time—well mannered, refined, modest, well educated and well traveled. In high school her friends admired her greatly for standing up for her own convictions, especially religious beliefs.

Those close to Elizabeth deeply cherished her friendship; those who did not know her well sometimes misunderstood her shyness for reserve. She was not always at ease in large crowds of strangers and this handicap was one she strove to overcome all through her life. In later years (around the twenties), she chose the quiet of her own home in preference to the noisy and sometimes boisterous and uninhibited behavior at large parties and other social events of the Jazz Age. This reticence affected her married life to some degree, as will be shown in the chapter on the Clark family life.

Elizabeth's sister, Marjorie, was always more extroverted than she; at house parties given by the Dunsmoors for their two beautiful daughters, Marjorie was always the more outgoing, dancing every dance and even flirting a bit with her partners, while Elizabeth participated more quietly in the festivities.

Elizabeth looked a great deal like her strikingly handsome father, but in personality and tastes, she took after her mother. Marjorie had the fine, beautiful features of her mother but took after her father in her love for adventure, her more worldly attitude, and at times, slight naughtiness. Bessie seldom acted against her parents' wishes, but Marjorie often ignored their advice. Elizabeth was loved and sheltered by her mother and adored by her father, who often wrote her little notes of advice:

Go to church and listen so you may feel like joining it and be a member like dear mother.
Be careful of streetcars and don't sit near or talk with scholars who have been sick and away from school.
Study hard and get marks as high as Marjorie and then you will please me very much.

French is more useful to you than fine clothing.
Be sure no one loves you more than your affectionate father.

Elizabeth's shyness did not keep her from doing well in her academic pursuits. At Central High School in Minneapolis, which she attended from 1899 to 1903, she satisfactorily completed courses in English, algebra, geometry, Latin, French, physics, physiography [physical geography], and history. Report cards from the eastern finishing schools she attended, (Dwight School, Englewood, New Jersey, and Miss Dana's Boarding School), reflect a well-behaved student who excelled in Bible studies, English composition, French, piano (which she really didn't like), and physiology. At Miss Dana's in Morristown, New Jersey, she earned an A in "Evidences of Christianity," and straight A's in deportment. Her only "average" grade was in gymnastics. She was slightly above average in German.

Elizabeth and Marjorie Dunsmoor made their debuts into Minneapolis society in 1906; a trip to Europe with their mother was their coming-out gift.

Elizabeth, though reserved, was not without admirers. One beau was Andrew Randell, a young lawyer from Sherman, Texas, who was fervently devoted to her, but whose love was unrequited.

After Homer Clark and Elizabeth Dunsmoor first became acquainted their friendship pattern was similar to that of Clark's other friendships with young ladies—he kept in touch with her by mail when he could not call on her, and she, in turn, wrote him cordial and polite letters thanking him for his many courtesies. This casual relationship went on for several months. But gradually Homer Clark discovered her delightful sense of humor which matched the impish side of his own nature; her very high standards matched his own, and her appealing "little girl" quality greatly attracted him. On Elizabeth's part, she discovered qualities in him which very much pleased her and outweighed their seventeen-year age difference. In later years, Bessie (as she came to be called) Clark was to reminisce over Homer

Clark's habit of looking straight at people and giving them his full attention when he talked to them. "It was a trait I greatly admired," she said.

Elizabeth quickly found out, too, how extraordinarily intelligent, chivalrous, and kind Clark was. His protectiveness was very appealing to her.

By early 1909, their friendship began to deepen into affection, and before too much longer, Clark very definitely knew he was in love, that this was the woman he wanted to marry. The next step was to figure out a way to persuade her to marry him. He knew her parents were on his side. They were very impressed with him and jokingly teased their daughter about what a "good catch" Clark was. This upset Elizabeth, for she was not yet sure she was in love with Homer Clark. The Dunsmoors' teasing was, in reality, seriously meant, for Clark had the assets they felt appropriate for their cherished daughter—a distinguished family name, a rosy future, a kind nature, integrity, adequate money to live well, and a respected position in the society and business circles of the Twin Cities.[3]

Clark was to be a guest of the Dunsmoors often in 1909 in their home at 1112 Nicollet Avenue and at Deephaven, Minnetonka, where they had a summer home. Mrs. John S. Pillsbury (Eleanor Lawler Pillsbury), is probably the only living person who knew both Homer and Elizabeth before they were married. She clearly remembers the house parties at the spacious frame house on Nicollet. As one of the debutantes who came out the same year as the Dunsmoor sisters, she was invited to their social events. Elizabeth, she recalls, often sat quietly apart from the other guests, not participating as gaily as her sister Marjorie. She remembers Homer Clark as "one of the nicest men she ever met," but at that time not exactly her crowd's idea of an eligible man because he was so much older than her friends. But in spite of his age—forty—Clark was still considered a

3. By this time (1909) Homer Clark had accumulated both common and preferred stock in West Publishing Company, Northern Pacific Railroad bonds, one-fourth interest in the yacht *Kitten*, and one-third interest in an ice yacht.

very eligible bachelor by most Twin Cities society families and he was unfailingly invited to debutante parties, lavish balls, and private social affairs, just as he had been throughout his twenties and thirties.

During the months following his meeting Elizabeth Dunsmoor, we see a different Homer Clark emerging, a man growing more and more in love and anxious to set a marriage date as soon as possible. It is interesting to note, however, that for the first time, Clark kept his feelings about a young woman—and his eventual plans to marry—a secret from eastern friends and relatives. His engagement announcement came as a total surprise to them. Previously he had been very open about his social activities. ("How you fooled the Brewster gossips!" quipped his Aunt Eliza.)

The year Clark was courting Elizabeth was to be one of the most frustrating of his life as well as one of the most joyous. His work took him away from Elizabeth much of the time and her travels and family obligations separated them still more. While visiting friends in Cleveland, Marjorie Dunsmoor became very ill and Elizabeth had to stay in Cleveland with her.

Most of that summer of 1909, Clark had to be in New York City working at the American Law Book Company office. It was one of the hottest summers on record and even on the fourteenth floor of his hotel there was no breeze. He was overworked, miserable, and lonesome, a very unusual state for the normally cheerful, self-sufficient bachelor. He found himself growing increasingly irritable and the waiting to see Elizabeth interminable. She was all he could think about.

During those miserable months in New York, Clark poured out his feelings to Elizabeth, pleading for a favorable response to his request that they become engaged. His letters dating from April to November, 1909, show his increasing affection and his impatience to be united with the woman he loved. Finally, in November, his letter to Elizabeth contains a clue of a wedding date and honeymoon plans—"It is good to think of being on the *Lusitania* two months from this time," he wrote. His letters which usually were written in a flat, prosaic

style were almost lyrical in spots. These months were virtually the only time in his life that he let his deepest emotions surface into print.

August 7, 1909

Written on board the packet Harvard
enroute to Boston, via Long Island Sound and the Atlantic Ocean

My Dear Elizabeth:

Oh how much I have been thinking of my dear Elizabeth these past couple of days and longing for a glimpse of her, and again and again mentally thanking her for those two letters which came the first of the week, making it a very happy time for me . . ..

This is a glorious morning at sea and as we are three and one-half hours late I have been enjoying the view of the back side of Cape Cod from the ocean. The combination of sand cliffs, fog, water and a little green in the distance make a wonderful marine picture . . .. I have been wishing you were here to see it . . ..

You can't realize how much pleasure I get in going over in retrospect that memorable Saturday and Sunday with you—the many joyful little incidents. You were so wonderful and also so very pretty. Perhaps, best of all, from my standpoint, you seemed so very happy.

Longing to see the girl who means everything to me, I remain

With greatest love,
Ever yours
Homer P. Clark

Waldorf Astoria
August 26, 1909

My Dear Elizabeth:

. . . How anxious I frequently am to talk over something with you, even business questions which involve the future and am tempted to write asking hypothetical questions as if the marvellous should occur and you came to care for me as I desire—would you prefer my continuing to have a rather active interest in a business here (in New York) which would involve coming to New York occasionally or would you prefer . . .

the sale of this interest and putting the money in a safer, though perhaps less profitable investment?

. . . Oh, for an opportunity to see you even for a little while. I don't dare let myself think how long that will be in coming for it would make me too miserable. Elizabeth, I love you more and more and remain

Yours truly,
Homer P. C.

August 2, 1909

My Dear Elizabeth:

. . . Last week was a bad nightmare after the initial day, which had been heavenly. My how things went wrong, which together with the heat almost knocked all the fight out of me and I dreaded taking up the burden again this morning even last night after a couple of comfortable days on the Cape which had braced me up a good deal physically and then your letter, which I grabbed for—has given the mental stimulus so I have the ginger again and feel quite among the "live ones" again.

. . . It is good to know that there is progress in the right direction. How I am praying that you will continue on the same line. You were so sweet and dear to let me know of favorable news for I needed the encouragement very badly. Is it not wonderful how far in the depths you can be the end of one week and how far up the beginning of the next. It was so good to think about what you had to say that I just could not be interrupted so left the office and had an early joyous lunch alone.

When I broke off to read, and since then reread and reread, your letter I was about to say that I did not think I could get along without seeing you before September and with your permission want to arrange to come out to see you on Sunday August 15th and if possible also Saturday the 14th. My, that would be bliss. As our West Publishing Co annual meeting comes on the 16th they would be apt to have a lot of problems to put up to me if I should let them know I was going to be there or even showed up. So as I am coming for one purpose only and don't want to be annoyed with any sort of business this trip I should like to keep away from St. Paul and not let them there even know I had been in the region. Would simply write I should be away from New York from Thursday or Friday until Tuesday morning. Of course I should be apt to run into someone on the train or in Minneapolis but

what if I did, there could be no real harm. You would not disapprove of such secrecy would you?

Friday evening—Mighty few chances to sleep in a bed this week. But what difference do the minor things that don't go right make if only the one great object comes out right, so I can now take up and discuss these annoying business things without worry so long as I can feel that I am gaining the affections of beautiful Elizabeth, who has already done so much for me. . . .

Affectionately yours, Homer P. Clark

June 24, 1909

My Dear Elizabeth:

I wonder what you are doing this evening . . .. Not knowing the people or the place it is hard to picture your surroundings, but the picture of your dear self stands out most vividly . . ..

Meantime you are being missed so very very much by me whose only great delight now is to think about the adored Elizabeth. Not being able to talk to you it is very hard not to talk to some good friend about the girl who I am so wild about.

Never was anything more appreciated than your saying you wanted to know me through yourself and not through anyone else, and I feel that if you will only accept my confidences, they belong to your sweet self and to you only. So I must contain myself until that blissful moment when I shall again see you and then there is apt to be an outpouring of the things which I have wanted to say to you during the past few days.

Some days ago I said that writing was laborious for me, but it has all changed so suddenly and writing you is so easy and natural as well as my great pleasure . . ..

Thank you for sympathizing with me regarding my summer. I am so wrapt up in you that it is difficult to concentrate on anything else and it will take all the determination I have to stay in New York if you desired to see me and I knew it . ..

At the Heins dinner I was called upon to explain "Why you are a bachelor" and it was a temptation to say that which I would plead guilty to being culpable in the past, now I was doing and would do everything possible to make amends, but the efforts would be confined in one direction. But instead of speaking from my heart I had to say, "because Mr. _____ got ahead of me" or something to that effect. . . .

With enduring love,
Your devoted adorer
Homer P. Clark

April 19, 1909

My Dear Miss Dunsmoor seems too formal, Miss Bessie sounds stilted in addressing the girl whom you are most deeply in love with, so can't I say

My
Dear Elizabeth:

Since those few precious moments on the train I have spent the greater portion of my time thinking of you, where you were at the particular time, what you were doing, and hoping that you might be as truly happy as I have been. Never before have I had any conception of the wonderful happiness which true love can bring. How everything present or involving the future revolves about the one central object of affection.

Somehow you have already wrought a great change in me and I am praying that you will consent to bringing about a still greater development.

Would that I had the power to express my intense love for you—it might help in gaining your assent to marry me, which is the one great object I am devoutly wishing for.

Back of it all there is that firm conviction that through pleasure and sorrow we could be very happy together, else much as I might desire it I care too truly for you to urge you to give up so much for me.

So my wonderful Elizabeth please do not fail to let me know some way, somewhere that I can see you a week hence, for seeing you means everything to me, and let me try to tell you more fully what I have so far only so partially told.

I fear that my usefulness at the office has been very slight these past few days for it has been exceedingly difficult to concentrate on anything but my one great interest now. While in person she is far away, in spirit she seems very close, pervading everything and making it all more beautiful.

[I] . . . shall pray for a dispensation by letter or telegram allowing me to see you for a little time Saturday, Sunday, or even Monday. I say "little time," of course anything more would be greatly appreciated.

Hoping in all ways for the best, I remain, with deepest love,
Most affectionately and faithfully,

Homer P. Clark

Homer Clark and Elizabeth Dunsmoor were officially engaged in late summer of 1909, but they kept the

news a secret for a short time until they could tell their own families. When Clark's sister Mary heard, she immediately wrote, "Charles and I were delighted with the good news . . . and can hardly wait to hear more about Miss Dunsmoor . . . I think it is high time you were married and I know that Mother must be delighted for she said this summer that she would be glad if you were married and had a home of your own before she died . . . We can hardly wait to be able to tell people, but as it is, I don't dare ask Minneapolis people here anything about her for fear they'll suspect."

When the engagement was announced, congratulations and best wishes poured in from everywhere. The happiness felt for Homer Clark was perhaps best expressed by his beloved Aunt Eliza Darragh who had shared with him that "queer, queer life in the woods of Wisconsin," as she put it. On October 28, 1909, Eliza wrote Elizabeth:

Dear Miss Dunsmoor:

What magic spell do you possess that you have been able to draw Homer from that shell of bacherlorhood that hitherto 'All the King's mean oxen and all the King's men' have failed to break through. Knowing Homer as I do, I can most sincerely and heartily congratulate you that you have done so, and that in the future you will be sheltered and protected by a man of such high principles, one who will give you his best love.

Homer has a most even disposition and while I think it must at times get somewhat disturbed (otherwise he would be hardly human,) I have never seen it ruffled.

I try to imagine what you are like, but how can I? Homer hasn't helped me in the least. I suppose he was afraid he might appear too gushing if he attempted a description of one so dear to him. So you see, I am left in the dark, and you are but a myth to me, one to be loved not only for Homer's sake but also for her own.

With a warm feeling for you even if you are a myth, and best wishes for your future happiness.

On January 12, 1910, Homer Pierce Clark and Elizabeth Turner Dunsmoor were married. The wedding

was the society event of the week. According to the *Minneapolis Daily News:*

Beautiful in its appointments was the marriage of Miss Elizabeth Turner Dunsmoor, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Frederick A. Dunsmoor, and Homer Pierce Clark of St. Paul, which was solemnized at Hennepin Avenue Methodist church Wednesday evening.

Rev. Andrew Gillies read the service before a thousand people, many of whom came from St. Paul in automobiles and in a private [railroad] car. The altar, which was banked with green, amid which gleamed the flames from cathedral candles, was a background for the bridal party, which entered the church to the strains of the Mendelssohn processional, which A. M. Shuey, the organist played 33 years ago at the marriage of the bride's parents in the old Plymouth church.

The bride's gown was of white satin, with a Dutch neck. The bodice was trimmed with lace that had been worn by the bride's great grandmother, her grandmother and her mother on their wedding days. She also wore a pearl brooch that had served as the ornament at the three previous weddings and a diamond pendant that was given her by Mr. Clark. The tulle veil, which swept the length of the court train, and the gown were both caught with orange blossoms. A shower bouquet of lilies of the valley and white orchids were her flowers.

For the first time in years, blue was the color chosen for the bride's attendants. Miss Marjorie Dunsmoor, the maid of honor, was gowned in pale blue satin, with an overdrape of chiffon, embroidered in silver.

Mary Rand and Alma Hanson were bridesmaids. Theodore Griggs was best man and ushers were F. Dean Bribben, Edward H. Saunders, Julian Noyes Kirby, and Herbert A. Abernathy of St. Paul, and Laton Dunsmoor and Willis S. Williams of Minneapolis. The Dunsmoors entertained 300 at the reception at 1112 Nicollet, with Dr. and Mrs. Dunsmoor, and Mrs. Charles H. Clark (Homer Clark's mother) receiving with the bridal couple.

Homer and Elizabeth Clark were married in a "golden age" in U.S. history. No major wars were being waged, travel was possible to almost any country, luxuries were available in quantity if you could afford them. Newspapers were full of quaint anecdotes and health remedies. Though prices were a tiny fraction of what they are today, people living in 1910 thought them high, and newspaper editors joked that dying was no solution as tombstone prices were skyrocketing right along with the prices of foodstuffs and commodities. In Minneapolis the Orpheum Theater was charging twenty-five cents for a matinee, and fifteen, twenty-five, and fifty cents for evening shows. Post Toasties were ten cents a box. The magnificent West Hotel in Minneapolis and brand-new St. Paul Hotel in St. Paul were charging one dollar a day and up for European plan, with club breakfasts thirty cents, businessmen's lunches fifty cents, and music every evening. The best chocolates in town, Garrott's, were eighty cents per pound. Furnished rooms were twelve dollars a month. Girls doing general housework in the Twin Cities earned four to six dollars a week. Harness makers were still in demand. The Union Pacific railroad was advertising a "dustless, perfect track and new electric signals," along with new steel passenger equipment, and "Best in the World" service. Their competition was offering equally attractive service, and customers had a wide choice of trains to take.

Homer and Elizabeth Clark sailed for Europe shortly after their wedding, where together they enjoyed countries and sights they had both seen with their parents. On their three-month honeymoon, Homer dotingly bought Bessie (as Homer now called her) anything she wished, causing her to write her parents, "I am getting ashamed of myself, I am so fat and Homer keeps me stuffed with preserved fruit, small cakes, etc. I am so very, very happy . . ."

Letters from the Dunsmoors to their daughter while on her honeymoon provide insight into their feelings about their son-in-law and the marriage. Just three days after the wedding, Mrs. Dunsmoor wrote:

My precious girlie:

Well, you see what I told you has come true. You laughed at me when over a year ago when we were abroad I told you that the next time you went it would be with your husband. You have no idea how happy I am in your happiness and how contented and safe I feel at your choice, for while I have joked and teased at the lovely things that have been told me of Homer, all the time I was so proud and happy at the thought of your safety and happiness, not for just now for of course all men would be kind and good and sweet to the girl they had just married, but the thought that it would be for "as long as you both shall live."

Oh, how happy I would be if I could be sure Marjorie would marry as fine and dear and sweet a man as Homer, but she never will. Such a thing would not come twice to the same family.

Poor daddy, he has been very quiet since you left. I don't think he thinks giving his girlie away a very funny thing and yet he admires and likes Homer very much indeed and says he feels sure of your happiness.

The Dunsmoors were right about their daughter's happiness. She and Homer Clark were totally devoted to each other for the sixty-one years of their marriage. Their age difference did not matter to either one of them and there were virtually no serious marital problems, though the normally gregarious husband had to temper his social life somewhat to match that of his more retiring wife. For the most part, Bessie preferred to stay home and raise their family of two boys and three girls,[4] and pursue her religious interests, her gardening, and traveling. Two great tragedies were to cloud their marital happiness, however: their two boys were to die young—one in war, the other from polio.

The first years of marriage were shadowed, too, by the deaths of Bessie's brother and mother, making these years a conflicting mixture of intense joy and deep sorrow. Her beloved brother, Laton, contracted tuberculosis and died at twenty-one from the dread disease in

4. Robert Stuart, Thomas Kimball, Elizabeth Turner, Catherine Pierce, and Helen Dunsmoor.

spite of anything physicians, including Dr. Dunsmoor, could do.[5] Her mother died unexpectedly; during her illness Bessie cared for her in her own home at 629 Summit Avenue, St. Paul, in order to be near her. But Bessie coped well with her sorrows though she had been completely sheltered all of her life. Homer Clark gave all the comfort he could. The only lasting scar was to be the addition of a new problem for the young bride—fear of tuberculosis or other illness. Much of Bessie's married life was devoted to carefully guarding the health of her children, her husband, and herself, taking every precaution to avoid contact with germs. Perhaps her vigilance was a factor in their unusual longevity—her husband lived to be 102, she, 91.

During their first months of marriage, the Clarks lived in an apartment in the magnificent new St. Paul Hotel. Later they moved to 629 Summit Avenue, then to 541 Portland, and finally to their own home at 534 Summit Avenue. They had five children. How Homer, now in his fifties, coped with five lively youngsters, served simultaneously as president of two corporations, worked on innumerable civic projects, and changed his lifestyle to make his marriage work, will all be told in coming chapters.

5. Laton Dunsmoor was buried at Lakewood Cemetery.

CHAPTER SIX

The World of Business

WHAT IS HOMER TO DO for a living? This was the question that Martha Clark repeatedly asked her husband Charles during their son's months in the Wisconsin woods. Martha had never been enthusiastic about the timber venture. What she wanted for Homer was a position with a future in an established business, in the tradition of her New England family. Her constant worry over Homer's future makes one wonder if she realized the true capabilities of her son and how little trouble he would have making his way in the world. Not even Homer, however, envisioned the measure of success he was to achieve in the business world through his work at West Publishing Company.

Homer Clark joined West's staff in 1892, a few months after leaving the Wisconsin pinelands. With

this move, he was on his way to the business career his family so desired for him. He was to be associated with West Publishing Company for seventy-four years, an incredible record of corporate service with one firm. Starting as a stenographer, he moved up to production superintendent, treasurer, president, chairman of the board, and finally to honorary chairman of the board. He served in the latter capacity for many years.

Clark is credited with originating many of the early business policies that gave West Publishing its sound foundation and helped the company achieve and maintain its status as one of the most prestigious in its specialized field of legal publishing.

WEST PUBLISHING COMPANY

How Clark happened to join West Publishing Company is not known as there are no early records available to tell us. He could have been hired because his father knew John B. West, founder of the firm. John West and Charles Clark were the same age, both came from Boston, and each had a business on Third Street (now Kellogg Boulevard) in St. Paul. In 1892 most St. Paul businessmen knew each other well, especially on Third Street where so many pioneer entrepreneurs had set up shop.

Homer Clark's connection with West Publishing could also have been made through Unity Church where both the Clark family and Charles W. Ames, West's general manager, were members. The membership at Unity was very small and families knew each other well. Most members even lived in the same residential area encompassing Holly, Ashland, and Laurel Avenues. The elder Clarks lived at 553 Ashland at the time their son joined West. (Holly Avenue, where the Clarks later lived, was often called "Unitarian Row.")

Or it could simply have been that West advertised for a clerk and Homer Clark answered the ad.

West Publishing Company was already well established when Clark joined the staff. The firm had evolved

from a small company founded October 21, 1876, by John B. West, then a salesman for the D. D. Merrill Book Store of St. Paul. His sales territory for Merrill included St. Paul, Minneapolis, and other Minnesota and Wisconsin towns along the Mississippi, where he called on many pioneer lawyers. John West soon realized that these law offices needed more legal reference books and law office supplies—many lawyers told him they were forced to write eastern publishers to obtain some of the books required for their practices. Sensing the opportunity inherent in this situation, John B. West, then twenty, severed his connection with the Merrill Company in 1872, and set himself up in business as "John B. West, Publisher and Book Seller," at 60 West Third Street, St. Paul.

He conducted his general book agency for about four years. During this period, with assistance from St. Paul and Minneapolis lawyers, he prepared a line of legal blanks and arranged for the publication of several out-of-print volumes of the *Minnesota Reports.* In cooperation with a Minneapolis lawyer, John Shaw, West published the *Analytical Index of the General and Special Laws of Minnesota—Territorial and State—From 1849 to 1875,* a reference that lawyers found invaluable.

West also brought out *The Practice Handbook—Minnesota Rules* in Swedish for Scandinavian lawyers who knew little or no English.

By 1876 John West's business had increased to the point where he needed assistance, and he prevailed upon his older brother, Horatio D. West, an accountant in a St. Paul wholesale hardware store, to join him. In new headquarters in the Cochran and Walsh Building, 11 Wabasha Street (first in a basement room and later in additional upper-floor space), the brothers published a weekly legal news sheet, "The Syllabi," containing court opinions uniformly indexed, a service previously unavailable. The first issue covered excerpt decisions of the Minnesota Supreme Court and of the Minnesota federal courts. Within weeks the scope was broadened to include Minnesota Supreme Court cases in full as well as excerpts of certain Wisconsin cases. Other legal publica-

tions soon followed, and the company's foothold in the law book publishing business grew stronger every year.

In 1882, the brothers incorporated as "West Publishing Company" and took in two more partners who brought in greatly needed capital for the expansion of editorial and manufacturing facilities. The new partners were Charles W. Ames and Peyton Boyle.

In 1892, when Homer Clark joined West, the firm was on the brink of being the nation's acknowledged leader in both the reporting and indexing of the case law of the United States. The *National Reporter System* and *American Digest System* were well established. By this time West had its own printing facilities.

Homer Clark's first assignment at West Publishing Company was to serve as stenographer to Charles Ames, the production superintendent. Clark showed a willingness to do any task asked of him, and "any task" aptly describes what he was doing his first few years as Ames's helper. He purchased company supplies, kept Ames's expense accounts, proofread publications, arranged appointments with lawyers, entertained lawyers and judges for (and with) Ames, kept track of paper prices, and ran countless errands. There were many occasions during this time when Clark was very grateful for the experience he had gained while working summers for his grandfather, Samuel Pierce, in his Boston import business. Homer Clark's first job for his grandfather had been collecting bills—climbing up and down countless stairs in Boston's old buildings to collect money owed the firm. Clark recounted to his family how one creditor threatened to throw him down three flights of stairs. "I suggested he begin with one flight," joked Clark when telling the story.

Grandfather Pierce saw to it that the job served as good training for his grandson in dealing with people and in developing a good memory. He would give young Homer the names of the customers from whom to collect, telling him he couldn't write anything down, but instead must memorize how much each customer owed and how much each paid. This routine helped the fledgling businessman develop an outstanding ability to retain infor-

mation. Friends and business associates learned quickly that if they told Homer Clark something one day, their story had better be the same later, for he never forgot what they said the first time.

Clark's experience as the manager of a lumber camp store in the Wisconsin woods was also to be helpful to him at West, as the Wisconsin job and the West job were similar in some ways, at least in his first months at the publishing firm. Ordering supplies, taking inventory, recording expenses, dealing with many different personalities, and doing odd jobs were all part of both assignments. West's staff and clientele, of course, were a cut above the rough lumberjacks and wily timber sharks that peopled the pinelands.

It should be noted at this point that Homer Clark, though only twenty-four and relatively inexperienced, was not exactly what one would consider an ordinary employee of West, for two reasons. By utilizing monies inherited from his uncle, Homer Pierce, and grandfather, Samuel B. Pierce, and by borrowing, Clark was able to invest substantially in West Publishing Company, giving the firm needed capital and acquiring for himself a substantial number of shares. Second, he was endowed with a mind far keener and more analytical than many men in business, and it was not long before Charles Ames and other West officers were depending on Clark's sound ideas and practical judgments more often than on their own.

The wide range of abilities Clark demonstrated at West constantly inspired confidence in those around him. Little by little, Charles Ames took Homer Clark into his total confidence and increased his responsibilities. By the time Clark turned thirty, he was involved in every phase of West's operation. His duties ranged from securing authors for legal articles to supervising printing and production, to resolving labor-management problems and working in the political arena on legislative matters affecting West Publishing and other Minnesota corporations. In addition, Clark counseled employees, organized meetings, and advised company artists on production problems.

On any assignment, no detail was too small for his meticulous attention. For example, if a customer reported that a certain letter—say an *f*—was not printing properly, Clark traced the problem to its source and had it corrected.

Clark's uniqueness was that he seldom *told* anyone what to do. His approach was to plant the seed of an idea in the other person's mind and let him nurture that idea as his own. He would say, "George, don't you think we ought to study the question and see if you can suggest a plan which will accomplish your purpose?" and then he might tell a story deliberately embodying an idea which "George"—or whoever he might be talking with—could pick up without realizing just how the thought had materialized.

A business colleague once said of Clark in this regard, "His natural modesty and unassuming attitude hid from all but those close to him the fact that he was the directing mind that planned the firm base on which the company built its high position in the legal publishing field."

By the early 1900s, Homer P. Clark became recognized as the "power behind the throne" at West, according to William W. Marvin in his history of the company, *Origins, Growth, and Leadership.*[1]

Clark was fortunate when he joined West to be assigned to work for Charles Ames, one of St. Paul's noted pioneers. A graduate of Cornell University, Ames had learned the printer's trade on the *San Jose* (California) *Mercury* as a boy; later he had assisted his father in editing the *Boston Christian Register.* Charles Ames was to open many doors for the young Homer Clark and there is little doubt that he drew his assistant into some of his own civic endeavors.[2] Often Ames didn't bother

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1. Management around this time consisted of Horatio D. West, president; Charles W. Ames, vice president; William L. West, secretary; and Homer P. Clark, treasurer. John B. West had left in 1899 to start another company. Peyton Boyle, an early partner, and secretary, retired in 1900.

2. Charles Ames was one of the founders of the St. Paul Institute in 1908 and on its board for years. He was a director of the First National Bank and the Northwestern Trust Company. He was a trustee of Unity Church and instrumental in its early de-

to ask Clark if he wanted to be a committee member on some project; it was just assumed he would help when he was told to. For instance, a postcard from Ames found in the Clark papers advises Homer Clark that he has been put on a building committee for Unity Church. Later, Ames put Clark on the committee to help raise money for church hymnals.

One of the influential organizations Clark joined through Ames's auspices was the Informal Club, a group made up of St. Paul's most trusted leaders. One could join by invitation only. These leaders, only a handful at first but eventually growing to number about eighty, met regularly in each other's homes to talk over national, state, and local political, civic, and business affairs. Each man served as a sounding board for his friends' opinions, and many of the important decisions affecting the future of the City of St. Paul were first discussed at Informal Club meetings. The club was unique, according to St. Paul historian Henry A. Castle (who was a member), because it exerted "without any glare of ostentation or publicity" a marked influence on public opinion. No records of discussions were made, but in 1935 a history of the group was compiled.

The Informal Club was organized in October, 1894, by eight men, including such leaders as Charles Ames, architect Cass Gilbert, grocery wholesaler Channing Seabury, and entrepreneur John B. West.

Patterned after an earlier St. Paul "Twilight Club" and Chicago's Sunset Club, the group had as its objectives the "fostering of rational good fellowship and tolerant discussions." Membership was limited to sixty "congenial and clubable" members. Homer P. Clark fit the pattern and was invited to join.

In the cause of good fellowship, the club's "Declaration of Principles" decreed that there was to be

no club house
no constitution

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velopment. Ames's club memberships included the Minnesota Club, Town and Country, and White Bear Yacht Club, all organizations eventually joined by Homer P. Clark.

no debts
no contributions
no accounts
no defalcation
no dress coats
no perfumed notes
no profanity
no stealing
no president
no bores
no long speeches
no late hours
no preaching
no bumblers
no deadbeats
no meanness
no embezzlers
no vituperation

but simply "tolerant discussion and rational recreation."

Though obviously light-of-heart in its declared principles, the Informal Club was in reality a major influence in St. Paul's development for many, many years. By 1912, the roster included such additional distinguished names as Lucius P. Ordway, Chauncey M. Griggs, Pierce Butler, the Reverend H. Moynihan and Winthrop Noyes. (Daughters of many of the members had been part of Homer Clark's social circle in his bachelor days.) Clark took his turn at being host or being in charge of the program. At one of these times, true to his own interests, he talked on "Some Parallels Between Experiments in Ancient Rome and Those of Modern Nations, in Troublous Times," at the 404th meeting on January 25, 1935, at the University Club. The program for the evening stated: "Many people seem to have the idea that 'experiments' in the field of social and political life are a modern invention. Under Mr. Clark's guidance we shall discover that this is very far from the truth, and we may expect considerable light upon contemporary experiments from the experience of the ancient world."

Homer Clark had been with West Publishing only a few months when he realized he needed to know more

about law if he were to get ahead in a law book publishing firm. Fortunately the University of Minnesota had just established night law school under William Pattee, dean of the four-year-old College of Law. Fortunately, too, for Homer Clark, a legislative proposal decreeing that a student had to have two years of college in order to enter law school had never been put into effect. University administrators had overruled proponents of this suggestion, pointing out that a two-year college requirement was too stringent for a frontier state. All that was required for admission was that the prospective student be eighteen years old, "of good moral report," and able to satisfy the teaching faculty that his general education provided an "adequate background" for the new studies.[3] Obviously Clark met these requirements.

Homer Clark enrolled in 1892, paying a ten-dollar matriculation fee. For fifteen dollars a quarter, he attended night law school, a two-year course, from 1892 through 1894.

The years of night school were hectic for him. At the end of a nine-hour day at West he would grab a sandwich and rush to catch the six o'clock streetcar which would take him to the university campus by seven. (Making life even a little more pressured was the fact that his parents were building a new home at 467 Holly during 1892.)

Homer Clark recalled in later years that his first night at the university was rather upsetting. "Dean Pattee marched in all the students who had flunked day law school, somewhat intimidating the new night school students," he remembered, adding, "but I was not intimidated."

Clark's record at night school can be found in the archives of the University of Minnesota Law School, written in pencil, perhaps by Dean Pattee himself, the main instructor. Clark earned only average grades, rating a *2* (on a scale from *1* to *3*) in the majority of his classes, a fact explained perhaps by his hectic schedule.

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3. James Gray, *University of Minnesota, 1851–1951* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951), p. 89.

Subjects included pleading, torts, criminal law, domestic relations, the law of real property, personal property law, and evidence. Clark's thesis for graduation, in keeping with his lifelong interest in Roman law, was titled *Donatio Causa Mortis* and was a discussion of a "gift made by a person in peril of death." His was the only thesis in his class titled in Latin.

Homer Clark was graduated with the university's daytime Class of 1894, with ceremonies in the large coliseum in June. This twenty-first graduating class numbered 250. Cyrus Northrop was president of the university at the time.

Clark's diploma from the College of Law automatically entitled him to present his credentials to the Supreme Court for admission to the Minnesota Bar without further examination and to practice law in the state.

Going to law school proved to be one of the best moves Clark ever made, for this education gave him the background needed for dealing with the lawyers and judges who were West Publishing Company customers.

"Law was an absolute natural for Dad because of his sense of fair play and the absolute keeping of one's word, and the need to make things completely clear," says his daughter Helen Clark MacGregor.

With law school behind him, Homer Clark concentrated on making good at West, which had moved its headquarters to 52–54 West Third Street, St. Paul. In 1896, he became a buyer of supplies for the firm and in 1898 was promoted to production superintendent (listed as "manufacturing manager" in the city directory). When Charles Ames became vice president, Clark moved up to treasurer of the company (1902). By this time, President Horatio D. West was living in Pasadena, California, and leaving the active management of the company to Ames, Clark, and the other officers.

At this point in history, running a law book publishing company was a little like making a safari into deepest Africa. Even for the experienced publisher, dangers lurked everywhere: cutthroat and unethical competition, literary piracy, collection problems, itinerant printers who stayed just long enough to collect a little money

and move on, and labor troubles. But the stakes were high and the gamble seemed worth the risk to men like Ames, West, and Clark.

Labor problems were taking much of West's—and America's—attention around this time. Although less than two per cent of the nonfarm labor force in the country belonged to unions, this two per cent was highly vocal and was being led by militant organizers. Organized labor was agitating for shorter hours, higher wages, the right to strike, and redress for grievances. Some strikes were occurring in America's larger cities, though in comparison to the late 1800s, most were minor and less violent than in previous years. A main labor leader of the time in the United States was British-born labor organizer Samuel Gompers, a man whose opinions Homer Clark and Charles Ames strongly opposed.

In Minnesota, between 1900 and 1904, many workers were organizing: boot and shoe workers, ice wagon drivers, St. Paul butchers, lumber pilers, sawmill workers in Stillwater, and St. Paul brewery workers. It was inevitable that workers in some print shops including West would want to fall in line.

At this time, West's labor contracts, like those of several other Twin Cities printers, were negotiated by the St. Paul Typothetae. The Typothetae was a national organization with state chapters made up of publishers. Its purpose was to assist its members with legal and political matters and to work for the betterment of the publishing business from the standpoint of both management and labor. West's officials were very much involved in Typothetae affairs on both a state and national level.

West management felt that unions were not needed if employees were paid adequately for their work and treated well. West management also felt that shortening the work day and work week, and raising salaries to levels demanded by the unions would put the company in a poor competitive position.

Charles Ames considered Homer Clark an expert in labor relations and most problems were turned over to him. Clark worked hard to give every West employee

his best attention. His strong sense of justice and fair play aided him in relationships with company personnel; he never knowingly treated anyone unfairly.

Early in 1904 West Publishing Company had its first taste of serious labor trouble when the West bindery girls' union struck for "recognition," and the book binders, while admitting that under their contract they had no right to strike in sympathy with the women, claimed that members of their union (St. Paul Book Binders' Union No. 37), acting individually, might quit work, refusing to work with nonunion help.

Before West's early labor troubles, both Ames and Clark had worked hard to resolve any labor complaints and to avoid strikes. They felt they had succeeded on both counts by having the St. Paul Typothetae chapter draw up a two-year contract with Typographical Union No. 37 in 1903 which specified that no strikes or lockouts would be allowed during the period of the contract, and were therefore surprised and angered by the bindery strike.

Clark worked so hard on contract negotiations that he wore himself out both physically and mentally (a situation common throughout his career because of his extreme conscientiousness), and found it necessary to take a vacation. Though reluctant to leave the troubled labor scene, he booked passage for Europe in April, 1904. While he was away, Charles Ames missed him acutely but carried on alone, while keeping Clark advised of developments.

At one point when Homer Clark was in Europe, Ames ran into Charles Clark at Unity Church and remarked, "I'm subbing for Homer on labor negotiations. He is a past master in such things." Another Ames comment, passed on by his father to Homer while in Europe, was that the Minneapolis employing binders thought Homer Clark was "unequalled in labor troubles."

On April 9, 1904, Ames wrote Clark that the St. Paul Typothetae and West Publishing Company had filed suit April 4 against the St. Paul Book Binders' Union No. 37 alleging breach of contract and demanding damages on behalf of West Publishing of $2,035, the amount

it had cost the company to send its books to other binderies, and $1,000 in damages. Ames enclosed a clipping showing that he had made a statement to the press outlining West's position, and explaining that the suit had been brought to ascertain whether the book binders' union could be held responsible for breach of contract.

A third clipping showed that West and nine other printers were advertising for girls to learn the bindery business, (blank-book sewing, paging, numbering machines, and books) offering beginners $3.50 a week and experienced girls $6.50 a week for a fifty-four-hour week. The nine printers advertising stated they wished to establish these wages as a uniform wage throughout the city on the basis of a fifty-four-hour week to become effective after April 11, 1904.

Wrote Ames, "We have five new girls working in our bindery today and three more engaged for Monday. Three of our old girls have just applied to return and I think there will be a stampede by Monday. Net monthly sales are $116,000, . . . so the skies look brighter and unless some new storm breaks on us we shall have real spring weather."

While its suit was in the courts, West Publishing shipped its jobs to eastern binderies and outstate Minnesota shops in order to meet production schedules. Shops in St. Louis, Chicago, and Cincinnati also offered bindery service. "So it looks like we have come out on top," wrote Ames.

Later that same month, Ames was to comment in a letter to Homer Clark, "As you know, our labor troubles did reach a crisis and for two weeks there was nothing doing in the bindery, but now things are running full blast again, for how long it's hard to tell. I am inclined to think that 75 per cent of the girls will never strike again. There is a movement for a bunch of 4 or 5 to resign from the union, which if we can succeed in getting them to do, will do a lot in getting things settled down permanently in our bindery."

West's strike problems were to drag on intermittently for two years, but many of their employees did not want to join a union. Though often picketed, no serious flare-

ups or violence occurred. Those who were prounion left the company. For West Publishing Company, the pattern was set. To this day it is a nonunion publisher.

For many years to come, however, Charles Ames and Homer Clark were to keep an eye on all organized labor developments. West Publishing continued to be a leading member of the Typothetae, both nationally and locally, and used the organization as its medium for negotiating wages and improving working conditions.

Many colorful stories about Homer Clark's firm stand against unions have come down through the years. One his family remembers is about an evening when he worked late trying to settle a labor dispute. When he left West to go home, an angry mob followed him to the streetcar. Some of the men carried weapons of various kinds. He made his way to the streetcar without incident but sensed there might be trouble when he entered the car. As he turned to climb the streetcar steps, he spotted a man he knew in the crowd. Pointing his finger at the man, Clark said, "If there's any trouble here, I have seen your face and you are going to be held responsible." In the face of this courage, the crowd of troublemakers melted away and the incident remained nonviolent.

West's stand against unions never backfired into serious labor troubles as it did with some employers, though there were some flareups. Employees, for the most part, could count on justice in their dealings with management.

So influential and trusted were Homer Clark and Charles Ames that they were often asked to handle highly confidential and explosive political matters.

In the early 1900s, it was risky business to swim against the oncoming tide of industrial unionization. Opposition had to be carried on with the utmost confidentiality and delicacy to keep any group or individual from being "marked" as opposed to organized labor. One example of this occurred in 1906. In July the National Association of Manufacturers contacted Clark in great secrecy, asking him to work for the reelection of a Wisconsin man named Jenkins who was chairman of the House Judiciary Committee in Washington and who had consistently opposed organized labor. Jenkins's vote was

needed to defeat legislation designed to prevent industry from securing injunctions against strikers (the anti-injunction bill). In soliciting Clark's help, the NAM secretary wrote:

> . . . It is absolutely incumbent upon . . . all good citizens who believe in standing by men who do their duty . . to get in and help Jenkins in any way we can. His opposition, though pretending to be Republican, will make as much capital as possible out of his sympathy with the House Judiciary Committee and with the employing and business interests of the country in doing the right thing with the anti-injunction bill. This is something for which any Republican candidate . . . ought to be lynched, as you know and I know, yet of course they must be expected to do it as they have been known to do it.
>
> The opposition of any organized labor people in the district of Mr. Jenkins nomination would not be considerable, yet needs to be watched for. . . .

Clark was asked by the NAM to call a secret meeting of a few of the "very largest manufacturers in the Twin Cities, a few of the largest jobbers and possibly bankers, men who can be trusted absolutely for their discretion as well as their loyalty," to get them to "hump themselves as never before." The NAM warned that the real cause of the activity could not be told, for "that would be fatal."

Clark was to instruct the men attending the meeting to stress Jenkins's long and honorable service, his close attention to all the personal needs of his constituents, his place of power in Washington. "Of course you and the invited guests will know what the real reason is," wrote the NAM secretary.

"Our friends who have been out on the firing line must be kept there at all hazards. If we can do that then we not only prove that Gompers' threat to put the unions into politics is a bluff. His . . . habit of intimidation and bulldozing will be pretty well gone." Telephoning, not writing, invited guests was recommended.

"Naturally, Homer," wrote the secretary, "if I did not believe you were the only one to handle the matter right,

and that you would do it in absolute confidence and success, I would not bother you."

Just how Homer Clark handled the NAM request is not known. The point is, that Homer Pierce Clark at thirty-eight was one of the most trusted businessmen in the Republican Party, and powerful enough to be trusted with the most delicate and politically hazardous of issues. (More on his involvement in politics will be found in a later chapter.)

Solving labor problems was, of course, only one part of the task of running a profitable business. Figuring out ways to serve the needs of lawyers and judges occupied the greatest share of West's—and Homer Clark's—time. Early in his career, Homer proved that this area was his forte.

In 1897 West Publishing wanted to exhibit a new digest at a bar association meeting, but it seemed an impossibility to get the publication printed in time for the meeting. To make the deadline Clark personally "walked" one copy of the digest through the printing, gathering, folding, and binding processes and gave the copy to President John West to take to the convention. The digest classified all legal cases from 1658 to 1896. According to West Publishing Company records, the digest was "the sensation of the meeting." The American Bar Association formally endorsed the American Classification Plan (the digest) as the model for digesting and from that time on, the company's reputation was more solid than ever. Clark was always pleased that he had a part in getting the endorsement.

In 1906, Homer Clark helped solve another problem, again increasing the firm's popularity with the legal profession. The severe earthquake and fire that destroyed much of San Francisco on April 18 caused West's many customers to lose everything, and Clark was assigned the task of going to the stricken city to determine what could be done to assist these customers. On arriving in San Francisco he found West's headquarters badly damaged, though the actual losses were minor. He asked the home office to send a complete library of the *National Reporter System* and other publications to him so he could set up

a free law library for the use of lawyers whose offices had been destroyed. West Coast lawyers never forgot this aid.

Around this time, the sheepskin used for binding law books was becoming very expensive, and in cooperation with manufacturers, Clark developed specifications for a new cover material which would eventually be called "law buckram." When he showed Ames the results of his experiments with buckram, he advised, "I think this is now thoroughly satisfactory and can be made in any color desired. While the finished product belongs to the manufacturer, we can make a point of its being American and superior to any foreign make, and also that the buckram was made in conformance with ideas and suggestions of West Publishing Company as to what . . . would make the very best possible binding for law books."

Throughout his career at West, Clark strove constantly to improve management procedures. Before he became president, the firm was managed by an executive committee headed by President Charles Ames, and the system, in Clark's opinion, was not always effective. During his years as treasurer he thought about ways to improve it.

The weaknesses of the system are described in William Marvin's *West Publishing Co.: Origin, Leadership, and Growth.*

> Not enough time was spent by committee members learning about the problems in the various departments of the company. Consequently the committee often lacked [knowledge of] the detail necessary for efficient plant and sales operations. Committee meetings were devoted mainly to discussions of competition and how to counteract it.

The records bear out Marvin. Typical agenda topics were, "How to establish our present publications and extend subscription lists for the *Reporter System, Century Digest, American Digest, Hornbook Services*, etc.", and "How to make profitable additions to existing lines of publications such as *Words and Phrases, Federal Statutes, Line Index.*"

A junior committee system was created to correct the weaknesses of the executive committee arrangement. The junior committees were made up of department heads who made management recommendations to the executive committee; however, the new setup had many of the same weaknesses as the prior system. Although each junior committee member might be very knowledgeable about his own department operations, he still lacked detailed knowledge of the complete picture, and this lack caused communication problems.

Improving the management system was one of the first tasks Homer Clark assumed after he became company president in 1921. By this time West had settled into a pattern of continuous growth. Sales were now more than two million dollars a year and more employees were being moved into management positions. The need was to organize management in a way that would keep West progressive and competitive in its field.

By 1926, Homer Clark's plan was ready. He centralized management in the offices of a chairman of the board and a president/general manager, and set up a planning board to assist management personnel.

It was soon evident, however, that a complete reorganization of the company was needed in order to make the new system work. (Actually, the need for reorganization had existed for many years, but the move had always been tabled due to the pressures of World War I.)

The death of Charles Ames, president of West, precipitated the crisis which forced reorganization. With Ames gone and Homer P. Clark past fifty, it was clear that younger men should be brought into management. But West's corporate structure offered little incentive for employees to become managers. Clark felt the only way to furnish the needed incentive was to let key employees become stockholders. To do this, a major reorganization had to take place.

Over the years much of West's stock had passed into the hands of estates or interests not connected with company management. Clark's plan was to recall the common stock held by outside stockholders, exchange it for a stated amount of preferred stock, and redistribute the

common stock to employees actively managing the company. Such a move, he felt, would help assure good company management.

Obviously such reorganization plans were not cheered by all stockholders, especially those who did not have the foresight of a Homer Clark. Clark's task was to convince stockholders that the exchange offer was a fair business proposition and that in the long run, stockholders would be getting more dividends than they had previously.

Charles Ames's thirty-eight-year-old son, Charles Lesley (known as Lesley) was brought into West's management circle to represent outside stockholders in the reorganization plans, and negotiations began. Alternative plans were suggested; some factions sought to satisfy their own financial interests rather than benefit the long-range operations of the company. Meetings became tense and relationships strained.

For the most part, Lesley Ames was in agreement with Clark's plans, but had not been close to company operations, having been away in college and later traveling around the world. There was much he did not know about the business. Clark was not used to working with someone as little informed about West as Lesley Ames, and the latter was not used to working with stockholders on such a delicate matter. Many meetings with the controlling stockholders adjourned in an impasse, and Clark became tired and discouraged. Myriad emotions tugged at him—sorrow over the death of his close friend and long-time associate, Charles Ames; discouragement over the inability of some stockholders to see the long-range advantages of his reorganization plan; fatigue from thirty years of conscientious work for the firm. For the first time in his life, retirement seemed enticing. It would mean that he could spend more time with Bessie and his new family. (He was just starting a family at a time when most of his friends' children were in college.)

By this time, Homer Clark was fifty-four years old, had already put in enough years to retire, and had a comfortable income on which he could have retired. But he was not a quitter. Moreover, he had never had the opportunity now before him of being in full charge of West's

operations (though he was conceded by all who knew him to be the major decision-maker at West a great share of the time for more than twenty years).

Perhaps a vacation would help, Clark thought. He announced he was going to Boston, though the reorganization matter still was not settled. His obviously low mood alarmed Lesley Ames and others close to him. They knew that Homer Clark was the only man who could make a reorganization plan work and the only man qualified to be president of West.

Lesley Ames, whose admiration for Homer Clark had grown steadily over the years, sat down on June 22, 1922, and penned a nine-page letter to Clark that covered every facet of prior discussions on reorganization and other problems facing the company. He reassured Homer Clark that he was "the man of the hour," that he was appreciated, and that he was the only man trusted by both sides of the reorganization battle. Ames wrote:

> During the last two weeks . . . I have received a growing impression which has disturbed me a great deal . . . namely that you have a feeling that you are not receiving adequate or sympathetic or helpful support. From talks with Mr. Randall, I find that he has much the same impression. I very much hope we are wrong . . .. It would hurt me very much if you should feel that I do not realize the primary importance of finding a satisfactory solution and putting through the program adopted as rapidly as possible, or that I have failed to understand the many considerations involved, or to appreciate the excessive burden of responsibility which has been thrown on you, or that I am not actively supporting you in your efforts.

Lesley Ames went on to say that the

> one conflict of interest between the two groups (stockholders and management) lies in the balancing of their respective claims . . . but no plan which is not a fair business proposition to the stockholders can be put through with the stockholders, and no plan which is not financially attractive and

feasible for management would be to the advantage of the stockholders nor be accepted by those managers essential to the business.

Far from feeling discouraged, I think you can count on the plan being acceptable to what may be called the Ames, Noyes and West groups of holdings, and as a result of that, of most . . . of the remaining outside stock.

Ames said his hope for the reorganization plan was that it would relieve Homer Clark of having to carry the whole burden of responsibility for the business. "The Committee form of management (carried to an extreme) seems to me responsible for the whole burden having fallen on you. The need of changing this to a more hierarchical form of management as well as developing a money-making attitude all through the business, has seemed to me so obvious I have largely taken it for granted that the reorganization will involve a much more definite placing of personal responsibilities. How that is worked out is principally a question of how you want it worked out."

Lesley Ames said he rejected any plan calling for even the partial retirement of Homer Clark.

As I conceive it, the whole purpose of reorganization is to insure strong management . . . and such management can be obtained only if it will have a definite leadership such as no one but yourself can provide. Whether you realize it or not, it is certainly true and everyone recognizes it. No plan involving your retirement or semi-retirement would be acceptable.

It is a pity that this whole problem was not tackled drastically several years ago. Too much war, I guess.

It is equally certain that no one supposes you can afford to continue as head of the company 'for your health' as it were. If it is only fair and honest and good business that there should be real opportunity for the other managers to profit financially, the same thing is even more true of you. We have not discussed (salaries) at all because you did not wish to take up this question until the other phases of the problem were settled. In fact you put the lid on me one day when I opened the subject.

As matters turned out, the reorganization plan backed by Clark, Lesley Ames, Noyes and West was found fair by the majority of stockholders and was accepted. The plan, in Ames's words, "not only saved the company from decay but also put tremendous drive into the management."

Within a few years Homer Clark had changed the managerial structure of West Publishing Company from committee to staff form. Letterheads of the late 1920s show for the first time the names of the advertising manager, production manager, law school department head, treasurer, assistant treasurer, editor-in-chief, sales manager, secretary, three vice presidents, and the president. Heretofore only the top four officers' names had appeared.

Lesley Ames, who served as company treasurer from 1924 until his retirement, thirty years later, remembered Clark as a "firm believer in delegating authority to individuals rather than groups."

"As he gained confidence in any one of us, he turned over to him a job under general instructions as to the object to be attained, and with wide discretion on method and details. [This] made for excellent advanced training in responsibility. Often he would advise without dictating."

In 1923 West directors and stockholders voted Clark a substantial increase in his salary. The record shows they would have paid him even more but were afraid a higher figure would displease Clark, who had at one time expressed his views on the subject.

Homer Clark served as president of West Publishing Company until 1932, as chairman of the board until 1949, and as honorary chairman of the board until 1966. When he retired, after seventy-four years' association with the firm, the personality of the man and the personality of the company were understandably almost identical. As a very private New Englander, Clark insisted that West affairs also be very private. West remained a closed corporation in an era when many businesses were going public in order to broaden their financial base. West used its profits to finance its growth.

Clark was extremely civic minded. So was West Publishing Company, which supported many St. Paul, state, and national causes. And West, like Clark, kept its contributions and activities private.

Clark was a very frugal man, though quality was important to him. He kept his luxury cars—the Stevens Duryeas, his Stoddard Daytons, his Packards—for as long as there was a breath of life in them. He selected durable clothes and would have worn his suits fifteen or twenty years if his family hadn't deterred him. The antiques he collected (his major hobby) were beautifully crafted pieces that would endure. Clark's kind of thriftiness was also considered a virtue at West. For instance, when the price of antimony was running up the cost of metals needed at West, Clark once advised, "Melt up whatever [metal] we can, even to digging out such things as the *Supreme Court Reporter*, etc."

Working efficiently was also natural for Clark, and he expected the same efficiency from others in whatever task they performed. "It seems clear that we are taking on too many nonproductive enterprises at West," he once cautioned Ames.

Attention to detail was important to him. Reported Clark to Ames on one project "I was much pleased with the way the likenesses came out in our calendar, [but] the arrangement of the border was not at all satisfactory, being more of a type you would use around pictures of pretty women rather than for strong men, and I have had a talk with the artist today. He sees the point and I trust will produce something that will be much more satisfactory."

Clark did not believe in either borrowing or lending, and this policy was made part of West's business philosophy when he became treasurer. Easy credit terms were not to his liking either. When he joined West he found that collections were an enormous headache. Nineteenth century lawyers might pay their other bills promptly, but the book publishers often had to wait for payments. As soon as possible, Clark turned this situation around. His method of collection was "soft-sell" but firm, and he had but one goal in mind—get the money due the company.

His collection letters were considered classics because of their low-key approach and success in bringing payments.

On the subject of credit, Clark wrote one staff member, "This is a subject I am a good deal bothered about and any suggestions you have to offer will be thankfully received. I am glad subscriptions are being cut off for I think we have been too easy." He did not believe in extending too much credit and resorting to legal action on collections was not a wise approach in his opinion. Neither did he believe in being involved in long-term contracts with anyone. Such contracts spelled trouble or lawsuits, he felt, as conditions and circumstances had a way of making contractual terms obsolescent.

Clark's approach to all problems was to study the situation carefully, gather the facts, consider the alternatives, then attack the matter head on. His work in the 1920s in codifying the United States laws (which will be covered later in this chapter) was a prime example of his ability to solve a knotty problem. He would have made a good systems analyst in this regard. As in many things, he was ahead of his time.

When it comes to judging and analyzing philosophies and accomplishments it is not easy to separate a man from his family background and training. There is little doubt that some of Clark's wisdom was acquired from his salty and shrewd Grandfather Pierce, some from his fiercely practical and business-minded mother, and some from his quiet, conscientious, and honest father. Homer Clark put his own stamp on acquired ideas, added these ideas to his own thoughts, and then made the final resolutions work for the benefit of others.

Throughout his long career with West Publishing, Clark put all of his philosophies into practice and under his leadership, West enjoyed continued and substantial growth. When he assumed the presidency, total annual sales were $2,312,000. By 1932 (a depression year!) West had exceeded the $3 million mark in sales and was still growing. When he first joined West, there were only a few employees; as World War II drew to a close, total employment was 645. By 1950, that number had increased

to 1,172. During his many years as honorary board chairman, the employment figure exceeded 2,000.

The story of Homer Clark's West Publishing Company experiences would not be complete without relating a few of the stories told about the "grand old man of West" by his family.

Catherine (Cathie) Clark Kroeger recalls that her father prided himself on the tremendous longevity of service on the part of West employees because they liked their company and felt they were well treated. "He was terribly disappointed when one young lady quit her job because she had dyed her hair and it turned green. He thought she was a fine employee and didn't want to see her go."

"If Dad knew of people who had had particularly long terms of service, he would go out of his way for them," said Cathie. "I remember him procuring a radio for a woman who had had an operation. He said she had been a marvel in the bindery, that she could just walk around the [gathering] table once and had an entire book assembled.

"Dad very much prized opportunities for good rapport with employees. One of my last memories of Dad at the West Publishing Company was the last winter he went to work. That was the winter of 1967. He was ninety-eight; I was expecting a baby. It was a particularly snowy winter and the drift in front of West's entrance on Kellogg Boulevard got higher and higher. Every day Dad would struggle . . . at ninety-eight his legs weren't as good as they once were . . . over that terrible drift and I would try to pull him over it with my 'great-with-child' condition. And every day, completely by 'accident' there would be this nice little old man who was polishing the brass and the windows who would help pull Dad over the drift and get him inside."

Homer Clark worked closely with many to help build West Publishing Company. He knew that without their talents, loyalty, and industry he could not have succeeded, and he said so many times. In the earliest years there

were John B. West, Horatio D. West, Charles W. Ames, and Peyton Boyle—all but Ames were to be out of active management by 1910. In the early 1900s there were Henry Randall, William L. West (no relation to the West Brothers), William L. Strong, Lanse Bement, Willard Smith. Later, Lesley Ames, Samuel Pinkerton, Henry Asmussen, Floyd Huntley, Harold G. Lains, Fred Works, Samuel Turner, Fred Stutz—each made a unique contribution to the West team. The four that were perhaps the closest to Clark in the early 1900s were Bement, Smith, Lesley Ames, and Randall. Willard Smith once wrote Clark, "If it weren't for that constant 'punch' of yours every day, I could not get up to face another day. You are the only thing that keeps me going." Clark was approaching sixty at this time.

When Clark moved into the position of chairman of the board, Henry Asmussen became president. Asmussen was followed in the presidency by Harvey T. Reid and Lee H. Slater. Each continued to build on the foundation earlier officers built, and each in his own way added successful policies to those created by Homer P. Clark. Each became chairman of the board, a position now held by Lee H. Slater.

UNITED STATES CODE

In 1925, as president of West Publishing Company, Clark was involved in a project for the United States government which he considered one of the most challenging and satisfying of his publishing career.

A year before, the Congressional Joint Committee on Revision of Laws contacted West Publishing Company asking if the firm would consider undertaking the compilation and codification of the general and permanent laws of the United States. The job needed doing badly. For more than thirty years the Congress had had various plans under consideration for such a compilation. The mass of materials contained in the *Statutes-at-Large* had

become so scattered and amendments so difficult to find, that one lawyer's guess was as good as another's as to the meaning or effect of the law. Congress was no better off and in numerous instances had enacted conflicting laws and even amended repealed laws without knowing it.

Congressional committees appointed to revise the laws had found the task too enormous. A number of compilations had been published, but there was always a great deal of duplication since these compilations did not eliminate repealed or duplicating statutes.

One compilation encompassed a bill authored by Congressman Edward C. Little. This measure had passed the House of Representatives unanimously in three Congresses but had never been acted upon by the Senate. Wrote one member of the Congressional Committee on Printing about the decision to hire West Publishing Company to do a new compilation, "It seemed necessary to get away from the Little code in order to make any headway in the Senate."

Senator George Wharton Pepper had recommended West based on the firm's reputation as the publisher of the *U. S. Compiled Statutes*, a publication widely used by bench and bar nationally. Senator Pepper asked Homer Clark to study the situation and make proposals to the Senate on what needed to be done to complete such a compilation.

In Clark's personal papers is the original copy of the proposal he worked out for the Committee on Printing. Among other points, he recommended that the recompilation be done by an expert or experts on statutory compilation and revision, such experts to be selected without regard to their political qualifications.

"This work should be done with thoroughness and care, and if it is so done, practically all errors whether of omission or commission can be eliminated," he wrote.

Clark also recommended that "when the rechecking is being done, all new legislation should be inserted in the Code of Laws—not in an Appendix, but in the proper place in the chapters of the Code of Laws. . . . This inclusion . . . should be continued up to the last possible moment."

Other suggestions by him were to add historical notes, to give full citation of credits for material included, to simplify and improve internal references to other laws, and to make complete references to other (pertinent) books. On the latter point Clark commented that, "All references which require the use of a book or books other than the *Code of Laws* to ascertain the existing law should be avoided wherever possible."

"The use of historical notes . . . if properly written and judiciously inserted, will oftentimes clear up seeming obscurities or repugnances in the Acts of Congress," he added.

Clark personally discussed these recommendations with Richard P. Ernst, chairman of the United States Committee on Printing, at a meeting in St. Paul.

Meanwhile, realizing the enormity of the task, Clark suggested to Senator Pepper and the committee that the Edward Thompson Company of Long Island, New York, publisher of *Federal Statutes Annotated*, be asked to join West on the assignment to further insure the success of the project. The suggestion was approved.

On July 20, 1925, Richard Ernst notified West Publishing and the Thompson Company that the Senate Committee on Revision of the Laws had given a green light to Clark's proposals. Wrote Ernst, "We understand that your houses, working in cooperation, will undertake the preparation of a compilation to date of the Statutes of the United States, general and permanent in their nature, distributed under titles substantially as shown in the memorandum submitted and treated in the manner indicated in the sample title which you have prepared and which has been the basis of conference between us."

The U. S. Senate appropriated ten thousand dollars to cover costs. West and Thompson were given until December, 1925, to prepare sufficient titles for the Committee on Printing to examine and as many titles as possible for the Congress to use.

During negotiations, Ernst expressed his personal appreciation to the two firms "not only for the proferred cooperation of your two great houses but of the spirit in which you have approached this task and the extremely

helpful way you have indicated to us a solution of what seemed to be an insoluble problem."

West and Thompson immediately put together a joint editorial staff and set up an office in Washington, D. C., to house them. One of the West editorial staff members that Clark brought to Washington was Harvey T. Reid, one of the firm's newest employees. Mr. Reid, a former Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, displayed unusual editorial and administrative abilities and made a major contribution to completion of the Code. (Following the Code assignment in Washington, Reid advanced rapidly at West, becoming editor-in-chief in 1933, president in 1949, and chairman of the board in 1956, serving in the latter position until his retirement in 1968.)

Both West and Thompson had published compilations of a nature similar to the task at hand, and these were used as a basis for their work. The Committee on Printing had given them authority to consolidate overlapping provisions and omit repealed and obsolete laws, and also those held unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. This leeway made their work easier. In an amazingly short time, considering the enormity of the task, the ad hoc editorial staff prepared its new compilation. After a thorough study of it, Congress adopted it without a single dissenting vote, as the *United States Code*, and made prima facie evidence of the law as of December 7, 1925. The compilation, an entirely new one of congressional legislation since 1789, was included in a single bill, perhaps the most voluminous one to come before Congress up until that time.

In 1926, the two publishers jointly produced an annotated edition of the *United States Code* in fifty volumes, a work of epic proportions. Included in the edition were historical notes which explained the evolution of the statutes.

The first supplement to the *Code* was ready for distribution around the summer of 1928, and the Public Printer, the Honorable George H. Carter, made up special bindings of the *Code* for the president of the United States and the chief justice of the Supreme Court.

After publication of the *Code*, laws which had not been included were expressly repealed, further facilitating legal research. Use of the new work established its accuracy and completeness, and once again, West Publishing Company (in cooperation with Edward Thompson Company) had rendered a major service to the legal profession as well as to Congress.

Although the *Code*, as prepared by the two companies, was quickly enacted prima facie evidence of the law in order to insure swift approval, the accuracy and authenticity of the *Code* has never been challenged in any court. It remains today a living tribute to the wisdom and perseverance of Homer Pierce Clark.[4]

AMERICAN LAW BOOK COMPANY

In 1903, West Publishing Company officers learned that a New York publisher, the American Law Book Company, was in financial trouble due to poor management, and that both its preferred and common stock were available. The opportunity was too good to pass up. Homer Clark, Charles Ames, and other West officers purchased a substantial amount of American Law Book Company stock and formed a legal syndicate for the management of these holdings. As a friendly gesture, Horatio D. West, president of West Publishing and living in California, was invited to buy into the syndicate.

The syndicate members elected Clark to be its trustee to "protect" its investment in the ALB Company and handle the disbursement of dividends, when and if there were any. "Protection" of the investment meant working with the ALB Company's staff and president in the manage-

4. An added bonus for Clark to this Washington experience was getting to know President Calvin Coolidge. President Coolidge invited Clark to the White House on January 14, 1927. In a gesture typical of him, Clark wired Mrs. Clark, "Found an invitation here to White House reception. Wish you could come on for it as I feel sure invitation would also be extended to you. Much love, Homer."

ment of the business. Therefore, as trustee, Homer Clark spent a substantial amount of time in New York as consultant to C. W. Dumont, ALB Company president.

The attraction of this company for West officers was that its legal encyclopedia called, *Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure* (called "Cyc"), was very popular with the legal profession. West's management felt that this publication complemented their own publications and could enhance their offerings. The ALB Company later was to publish *Corpus Juris*, and this, too, gained wide popularity.

The responsibilities of being trustee added greatly to an already heavy schedule at West for Homer Clark, but there was a challenge in trying to make a going concern out of the American Law Book Company, which had been organized by two former officials of the Edward Thompson Publishing Company of New York.

For the next twenty years, the syndicate of West officers played a major management role, behind the scenes, at the ALB Company. Putting his keen and analytical mind to work on their problems, Clark diagnosed sales, production, and office management to see where weaknesses existed. One of his first moves was to cut wasteful practices. Two-thirds of the secretarial staff was cut; salesmen with poor attitudes, drinking, or other personal problems were counseled. If they did not improve, they were weeded out. Production work of the various departments was coordinated to assure that publishing deadlines were met. Printing costs were pared. So successful were these measures that at one point the American Law Book Company was paying larger dividends than West Publishing Company.

In 1909, there was occasion for West syndicate members to regret having invited Horatio West to join them in their new venture. On the surface, at least, it seemed as though Horatio West was interested only in getting dividends and not in Clark's long-range improvement plans. What West apparently failed to realize was that without Clark's efforts there would have been no dividends from the ALB Company. Horatio West's attitude was to cause Homer Clark great annoyance and frustra-

tion. It was the same attitude displayed in relation to West Publishing Company's operations after Horatio West moved to California and lost touch with the day-to-day problems of the firm.

The friction between Horatio West and the other syndicate members reached a crisis in 1909. West accused Homer Clark of illegal handling of syndicate funds because he had used July dividend funds to pay some of his expenses connected with working for the American Law Book Company. This controversy was to bring out one of the only instances on record of Homer Clark's having been ruffled to the point where he could not (or chose not to) hide his emotions. Horatio West was to learn that he had made a terrible mistake in casting a shadow on Clark's integrity. Injustice was the one thing that would move the quiet and unassuming Homer Clark to strong, firm language and rebuttal.

The ill feelings between the two men started in July, 1909, when Clark went to New York City to replace ALBC president, Charles W. Dumont, while he took a much needed vacation. Clark, in a typically conscientious move, removed himself from West Publishing's payroll and paid himself a July salary from preferred stock interest of the American Law Book Company. To Homer Clark's complete astonishment, he received a letter on July 22, 1909, from Horatio West which began with a very unfamiliar "Dear Sir," and went on to call the salary payment "absurd, unjust and illegal."

Horatio West's complaint was that no one was needed to replace Dumont to keep the company's business running properly, and even if there was a need, no one in the syndicate had any legal right to use dividends or interest for salary purposes without the unanimous consent of syndicate members. West demanded his July dividend and threatened to withdraw from the syndicate, a move which would mean the syndicate would no longer have its controlling interest in the American Law Book Company.

"If anyone in the syndicate has power to take my dividends and do as he may see fit with them, I am better off amongst the outside stockholders and prefer to withdraw

and I have no doubt the law would sustain me," West wrote.

Homer Clark was not only shocked, but hurt. The letter also added to troubles he already had. His syndicate duties forced him to be in New York City during one of its hottest summers, he was unable to get sufficient sleep, and the pressures of work were keeping him from his usual vacation at his Cape Cod summer home. Too, it was the summer he was trying to persuade Elizabeth Dunsmoor to marry him, and long distance was not exactly the shortest route to romance. He might have arranged to see her in Minneapolis perhaps once, but she had to be in Cleveland attending her sister Marjorie who had become ill while visiting friends. So Clark's frustrations were great even before he received West's letter.

The syndicate members all took Clark's side, even if Horatio West had a valid legal point (and no one knew whether he did or not as they did not want to turn the disagreement into a legal battle).

In a very atypical move Clark wrote Horatio West a tersely understated and subtly sarcastic letter, revealing a side seldom, if ever, seen by anyone who knew him. But then, no one had accused Homer Clark unjustly before, and unfairness was one thing that could strongly upset him.

. . . In order that you may no longer be deprived of interest on this amount, I am taking the irregular course of making your check here, instead of having it made by the auditor in St. Paul. Please find enclosed check for the amount of your dividend on your 23 per cent holdings. . . .

Clark then pointed out that he had received no salary for his many syndicate duties and that if Horatio West insisted on legal exactitude, he could expect to pay in "substantial proportion" monies due the trustee for such salary.

For, as you are undoubtedly aware from experience, New York is a somewhat expensive place to live in, even when the weather is extremely hot, and with my salary stopped in St. Paul (it did not seem right to have West Publishing pay my salary for three months when I was working for the American Law Book Company), a salary from someone will be useful.

Nothing would please me more than to be relieved of my trusteeship, particularly as I can see that some members of the Syndicate would be apt to beef if business falls off and dividends should be decreased.

In asking that everything be done with legal exactitude, do you mean that I ought to make a legal charge as trustee for handling the monies? Previous to the arrival of your letter, I had overlooked this point. . . .

Horatio West's reply was swift and emotional with a repetition of his former accusations. As matters went from bad to worse, Charles Ames went to Homer Clark's defense. So did the other syndicate members. As the controversy continued, it became apparent to syndicate members that one reason for West's accusations and demands for dividends was that he was building houses in California and needed capital. Under these circumstances he was apt to look at the cash balances on earnings sheets rather than see the need for putting profits back into the ALB Company for growth purposes.

Charles Ames, in particular, became very incensed over Horatio West's attack on Homer Clark. Ames had felt for a long time that West, as an absentee officer of West Publishing and a syndicate member, was out of touch with the efforts needed to run corporations. At one point Ames wrote Horatio West, "This is not the first time Mr. Clark has suffered similar treatment from you. Indeed, some of your criticisms as an absentee president nearly drove him from West Publishing Company."

Tempers finally cooled, however, and the disagreement became history. Two years later a new syndicate agreement was drawn up with Horatio West still holding his twenty-three per cent. A new legal wording as to expenses "pertaining to the proper protection of the

stock" was incorporated, but the practices of the trustee were to remain the same.

The records show no more attacks on Homer Clark by Horatio West. To the contrary, future letters from him seemed to cater to Clark's "good judgment." Clark had shown firmly that he would not stand for an injustice and that he could and would take aggressive measures if anyone had the temerity to challenge his integrity. It was an aggressive side of Clark's personality not seen often, but there when needed.

As for the American Law Book Company, it was to be run successfully with the help of Clark and the syndicate for many years. After the death in 1928 of C. W. Dumont, its president, the firm was reorganized, then brought in as a part of the West Publishing Company.

WALDORF BOXBOARD COMPANY (HOERNER WALDORF)

Most Minnesotans are familiar with the box manufacturing company in St. Paul's Midway district until recently called "Hoerner Waldorf" and now a division of Champion International Corporation. The huge cloud of steam rising from the firm's paper mill has been a familiar sight for as long as most can remember. What few people know is that Homer P. Clark played a key role in founding and developing the original boxboard company. Not only was Clark one of the original investors who helped Michael (Mike) W. Waldorf start a boxboard company that was the parent firm, but he played a significant part in saving the life of the company not once, but twice, during its early years.

When Homer Clark joined Mike Waldorf and other St. Paul businessmen in founding the Waldorf Boxboard Company, he had no idea he would one day become involved in the daily management of the firm. His only thought was to put his money to work in the company and to serve on its board of directors. As things turned

out, he was to rescue Waldorf when the company faced a financial crisis just before World War I, and again in 1928 and 1929 when it lost two of its top executives within a few months' time and depressed economic conditions were causing sales to plummet.

Mike Waldorf was with the H. L. Collins Company when he conceived the idea of starting his own firm around 1906. He had been a salesman for the Griggs, Cooper & Co., and then had joined Collins, a manufacturer of folding boxes, labels for druggists' pill boxes, showcards, and hangers, at 61–67 East Tenth Street, St. Paul. In 1902, according to the St. Paul City Directory, Mike Waldorf was vice president of Collins; H. L. Collins, president; W. R. Dorr, vice president; and M. R. Conable, treasurer. In 1906, Waldorf was listed as Collins's secretary-manager, and in 1907, as secretary-treasurer. Homer Clark was a director of Collins at this time.

Clark, who saw Mike Waldorf frequently at the Minnesota Club where both were members, apparently had such confidence in Waldorf's proposed business venture that he persuaded several other St. Paul men to invest in the new firm. The original investors in Waldorf Boxboard Company included Judge Dillon O'Brien; Charles Noyes of Noyes Bros. & Cutler; Charles Wilson of Graybar Electric Company; George Solwald of Great Western Supply Company; John Edwards Stryker, patent attorney; H. L. Collins; Tony Friedman, prominent liquor dealer; the Villaume family of Villaume Box and Lumber Company, and others. These men all furnished material or services for the new plant and received stock in turn. Judge O'Brien furnished legal work, as did Stryker, the patent attorney; Wilson furnished electric motors; Solwald, the hardware, transmission machinery, and miscellaneous items; and Sands, all of the power plant equipment such as boilers and engines. H. L. Collins gave some of its land to Waldorf (which had moved to the Midway district at Hampden, Wabash, and Myrtle in 1906). The land gift included a square block bounded by Cretin, Pillsbury, Myrtle, and Wabash in St. Paul. The Waldorf plant was built on this land,

which remained its permanent site. The assistance of all of these men reduced Mike Waldorf's need for cash.

Money that Waldorf couldn't supply himself came from Homer P. Clark, Charles Noyes, the Stryker family, and Tony Friedman.[5]

Credit was arranged with the Beloit Iron Works of Wisconsin for payment of a paper machine supplied by them. Auxiliary equipment furnished by E. D. Jones & Co. of Pittsfield, Massachusetts was paid for the same way, by monthly payments.

Postal and Postal, Chicago, designed and built the Waldorf plant. The mill was in operation by February, 1908, with Mike Waldorf as president; H. L. Collins, secretary; and Douglas Putnam, treasurer. Harry McDaniel was hired in March, 1908, to run the mill and serve as manager; later he became a vice president of Waldorf. Mike Waldorf also started a bindery business in 1907 at 97 East Fifth Street, St. Paul, which he sold three years later to E. B. Swygart and H. O. Williams. In 1910 Waldorf Bindery Company was located at 508 North Prior, St. Paul.

Homer Clark perhaps became interested in helping Mike Waldorf because Clark admired Waldorf's willingness to work hard for any goal he set for himself, and because he was adventuresome and somewhat of a "plunger." Clark, of course, was just the opposite, a conservative in business and politics as well as in his personal life. The "plunger" side of Mike Waldorf, however, was to get his fledgling firm into financial trouble before too many years.

From the start the Waldorf Boxboard Company was a success, mainly due to its early acquisition of two large customers, the Chicago Mill and Lumber Company, Chicago, and the John Kiekheffer Company of Milwaukee. At first, Waldorf only made boxboard, a heavy paper used in making set-up boxes and folding cartons. Its starting mill capacity was forty tons a day. Later the

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5. Information on the founding of Waldorf Boxboard Company has been supplied by Nels H. Sandberg, former president of Waldorf Paper Products Company.

company expanded into making corrugated containers, a product that gradually displaced wooden boxes and barrels for much of America's packaging.

It was in 1914 that Mike Waldorf made the mistake in judgment which put the financial health of his boxboard company in jeopardy. Anxious to expand and modernize, he purchased a second paper machine on the premise that he needed it to keep the business of the Chicago Mill and Lumber Company and of Kiekheffer. Shortly afterwards the two customers withdrew their business; Chicago Mill and Lumber installed its own machines and began to make solid fiber for themselves and for Kiekheffer as well. The loss of these two customers left Waldorf with insufficient income to keep his business running.

When Homer Clark heard of the crisis, he immediately helped. Although he had already booked passage to the Orient for himself and his wife Bessie, a trip which could not be canceled, he made arrangements to assist Waldorf financially. In a move unprecedented for Clark, considering his conservative nature, he turned over $100,000 of his own securities to Charles Noyes of Noyes Bros. & Cutler, and Richard Lilly of the First National Bank. Clark instructed the two men as follows: "If Waldorf needs help while I am gone, you can dispose of these securities." With this backing, Waldorf made it through its first financial crisis and gradually worked its way out of trouble.

Also thanks to Homer Clark and Tony Friedman, new business for Waldorf came from an associate and fellow Minnesota Club member named Charles Weinhagen who frequently lunched with Waldorf, Clark, and the other investors.

Weinhagen, an enterprising man, controlled the A. George Schultz Box Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; the Eau Claire Box Company, Eau Claire, Wisconsin; the Des Moines Paper Box Company, Des Moines, Iowa; and the Eggers O'Flynn Company, Omaha, Nebraska. Weinhagen gave Waldorf business amounting to about the same volume as had been lost from Chicago Mill and Lumber and from Kiekheffer.

Two other factors are credited with helping to save the company: the eruption of World War I in Europe, and the development of a wallboard by Waldorf. Shortly before World War I one of Waldorf's superintendents invented the quarter-inch thick, waterproof paper called wallboard. This building material was snapped up by the United States Army for use in building temporary camps during the war. Substantial sales were also made to the English and French governments, and to Montgomery Ward and Sears, Roebuck and Co., who advertised the product in their catalogs. Waldorf began to prosper again, got out of debt, and paid substantial dividends during the war years.

Meanwhile, in 1915, Waldorf Boxboard merged with the H. L. Collins Company and the American Paper Stock Company, to become Waldorf Paper Products Company. Mike Waldorf was president; Paul N. Myers, vice president; and Douglas Putnam, secretary-treasurer.

During these early years, Mike Waldorf relied heavily on Homer Clark's business judgment. Some who were with the firm then declare that "not a 't' was crossed or an 'i' dotted without first consulting Mr. Clark."

Waldorf Paper Products was now making cartons for brand names such as Pillsbury Flour, Carnation Milk, Log Cabin Syrup, Mazda Lamps, Borden's Evaporated Milk, Fairy Soap made by the N. K. Fairbank Company, and many others. The company had expanded to eleven acres of floor space for its plants and offices. Annual sales were more than ten million dollars. The Waldorf philosophy, according to the company house organ, the *Waldorf Packet*, was, "produce the best that mortals can, good goods deserve good packages." The firm employed 700 men and women, had its own paper stock plant and box board mill producing 135 tons daily, and its own manufacturing plant, which the company claimed to be the largest in the United States devoted exclusively to making containers and cartons. C. G. Maher was manager of the box division; H. C. McDaniel, manager, mill division; F. G. Reichert, manager, paper

stock division; A. R. Penfield, salesman; Paul A. Schilling, sales department; and F. J. Zenner, sales. Schilling moved up to become president many years later.

Speaking of the company's origins, the *Waldorf Packet* said, "Waldorf started in 1907 as the result of prophetic faith held by M. W. Waldorf in the future supremacy of that potential great industrial area lying along and inside the western city limits of St. Paul and immediately contiguous to the eastern city limits of Minneapolis known colloquially as the Midway District."

In the late 1920s Waldorf Paper Products Company was plunged into a second crisis. M. W. Waldorf, only fifty-nine, died in 1928. He was succeeded as president by Paul N. Myers. After only a year as president, Myers, depressed over personal financial problems and the general economic depression of the country, took his own life in 1929. The loss of two top men within such a short time created a grave situation. The directors asked Homer Clark to take the presidency and try to stabilize the situation. His acceptance assured the company of good financial leadership.

One of Clark's first moves as president was to help several of Waldorf's officers out of a financial bind which developed as a result of a move Paul Myers made when he was president. Myers wanted to increase the working capital of Waldorf and pay off the company debt on its million-dollar power plant which had been completed in 1929. He asked the four top officers to buy additional Waldorf stock to enable him to do so. The officers—three vice presidents and the secretary—had to borrow money from a bank in order to buy the stock. Due to the Depression, sales had dropped off shortly after Clark became president, and no company dividends could be paid. The officers were pressed for the cash needed to make their loan installments at the bank. To help the officers, Clark guaranteed the loans at the bank.

In another move, Clark engaged a Boston consulting firm to serve as efficiency experts for Waldorf. The firm, Thompson, Lichner & Company, had previously

served West Publishing Company in the same capacity. Although the consultants knew little about paper mills and box production, they performed time studies in order to recommend innovations for improving production procedures at Waldorf. Several such innovations were adopted. Piece-work and bonus systems, for example, were installed in all departments.

When Clark took over the Waldorf presidency he knew little about plant operations or day-to-day problems, but he soon demonstrated that he was interested in learning everything he could about the business. To do so, he worked closely with management, particularly Paul Schilling and Nels Sandberg.

Schilling, vice president in charge of all operations at that time, had started with Waldorf as an office boy in 1913. Aggressive and outspoken, Schilling was in direct contrast to the quiet, ultraconservative Homer Clark, but this very contrast provided a management balance which helped Waldorf to move ahead decisively in its field.

Nels Sandberg was a Swedish immigrant whose mechanical genius contributed substantially to the company's constant growth. He joined Waldorf in 1924 as machine shop foreman and power plant engineer.

Both Schilling and Sandberg were to move up steadily in management. In 1935, when Clark stepped down from the presidency, Schilling assumed the office and Sandberg was promoted to general production manager. In 1955 Sandberg became an executive vice president, and in 1962, president.

According to Nels Sandberg, now retired and living in St. Paul, the production side of Waldorf's operations especially fascinated Homer Clark, and he spent much of his time with Nels Sandberg. Each day upon his arrival at the plant Clark would enter the building by way of the mill so he could visit first with Sandberg before going on to his executive office. In keeping with his naturally curious nature, Clark asked Sandberg question after question about paper mill operations and the mechanics of making boxes. During his years as president and chairman of the board of directors, Clark

learned everything he could about the production of bleached and unbleached hardwood, coated cardboard, special boxboard, and other products and processes.

From Paul Schilling, now also retired and living in St. Paul, Clark received financial reports, sales figures, management news, and recommendations for growth and development. Schilling recalls that he found Clark very cautious about approving any large expenditures during the Depression years, a situation Schilling said he sometimes found irritating because of his own willingness to take risks.

Homer Clark encouraged Nels Sandberg's inventiveness by approving expenditures that made experimentation and expansion possible. Clark was especially interested in Sandberg's ideas for turning waste materials into useful products; these ideas undoubtedly appealed to his frugal New England nature.

During World War II, Sandberg found a way to eliminate ink from waste paper. His penchant for recovering waste also was responsible for one of Waldorf's most outstanding expansion projects. A conservationist, Sandberg had been distressed at the vast amount of wasted wood residue left by loggers in the forests of western Montana. As a result, he designed a new type of pulp mill which was built in Missoula, Montana, and later added a paper mill to utilize wood chips for an unbleached kraft paper board. The Montana operation was a separate company at first—the Waldorf Paper Products Company of Montana—with Nels Sandberg its vice president. Homer Clark followed the development of the Montana project every step of the way, and once, at age ninety, traveled alone to Missoula to see for himself what he had heard about for so many years. Perhaps the Missoula plant was of such special interest because Clark had seen the same waste during his Wisconsin woods experience in 1899.

Early in the 1960s, Hoerner Boxes of Keokuk, Iowa, bought a twenty-five per cent interest in the Montana operation and later became a fifty-fifty partner. This was the beginning of the Hoerner-Waldorf merger. The Montana company eventually was merged with the St.

Paul company. The merger with Hoerner Boxes was completed in 1966, before Nels Sandberg retired, and a year after Homer Clark resigned as chairman of the Waldorf board. The company was now Hoerner Waldorf.

By this time, the firm had grown substantially and diversified. By 1967 there were six divisions: manufacturing, converting, sales, the Great Lakes Group, corrugated sales, and mill sales.

Those who worked closely with Homer Clark at Waldorf remember the deep personal interest he took in helping the company prosper and grow. In an interview, Nels Sandberg commented on this interest:

"Homer Clark really had Waldorf close to his heart. I think one reason was that Mike Waldorf leaned on him for advice. Besides that, about fifteen St. Paul businessmen had, on Mr. Clark's advice, invested their money in Waldorf Boxboard when it was organized, and I think Mr. Clark felt that the company had to succeed, and it did.

"In a way, I think he was a bit bored with West Publishing. It was too ordinary for him; there was nothing exciting about it. I think he liked the new products that Waldorf developed and the new processes. He was always asking, pushing, 'What's new today?'

"He was a far-sighted man. He didn't have any technical training but he could analyze a situation and could see the economic impact, the possibilities, regardless of how far-fetched an idea or process was.

"He was a little less involved in the day-to-day management of the firm after Paul Schilling and I took over, but in the beginning we were just a couple of boys in short pants and we didn't have a lot of business expertise. Neither one of us had all that much experience. If it hadn't been for Mr. Clark I don't know what would have happened to the company."

One of Sandberg's most vivid memories of Clark is the time Clark, then ninety, came to visit him at the Missoula plant.

"I was in charge of the plant, and Mr. Clark came out to see it. We had a luncheon for him, gave him a tour,

and then Walter McLeod, head of the mercantile company there, drove him to Helena to see the governor, and then down the Bitterroot Valley, and he took the train back to St. Paul. All of this in his ninetieth year and alone.

"I don't think I could have put the project at Missoula over if it hadn't been for Mr. Clark. It's a big mill now, a multi-million-dollar investment. We started in 1956 with $7 million. It's had nice growth and been a fine investment for the company. But if it hadn't been for Mr. Clark's support, it might not be there now."

There was an amusing incident when Clark came to Missoula, recounted Sandberg. "He had a little difficulty walking in later life because of a childhood case of polio. We were sitting at my desk in Missoula talking, and he said, 'Let's take a walk around' and from force of habit turned and reached for his cane. But that cane was 1,200 miles away. So he got a broom out of the plant, sawed off the handle, and used that."

Nels Sandberg said that when he was president of the company, Homer Clark was the only man whose questions he was concerned about at a meeting.

"I'd prepare a detailed financial statement and take it out to his house on Summit a few days in advance. When he came to the meeting, (with a magnifying glass), believe me, he could have some pertinent questions. It could be pretty embarrassing, I can tell you. He was ninety-five or ninety-six years old and could still pick that statement apart; I was always concerned about it. I'd wonder what he was going to find today."

Another recollection concerning stockholders' meetings:

"Homer didn't like Waldorf directors to 'caucus' before a meeting. There were five directors who belonged to the Minnesota Club, including Mr. Clark, and they would get together at the club and start to talk about Waldorf affairs. When that happened, Mr. Clark would get up and leave, so they wouldn't have a quorum, which was five. He felt such meetings were a kind of collusion, and he didn't like that."

In discussing Clark's management philosophy, Sandberg emphasized that Clark "was interested in the people he thought could deliver the goods. He was not a man to 'work down the line' so to speak. I reported directly to him for many years, even though Paul Schilling was president. Mr. Clark would contact me on production and engineering developments but he did it very gracefully. He was naturally aware that Schilling was the boss, but at the same time he didn't waste time by going through several channels. He was more direct, even though he knew he could be stepping on toes. But he had the uncanny ability to make you feel that he wasn't doing that. He was very quiet. Never once did I ever hear him raise his voice.

"He was interested in every one of my patents—and I had some fifty of them. He always wanted me to sit down and explain them: 'Just how does this function?' —'Where can we go from here with this?'—'Where can we use it?'—'How should we protect ourselves so a competitor can't grab this thing?' That's the sort of mind he had.

"Many times I would go to him with an idea and say, 'I don't know if it would be worth anything outside the industry.' He'd answer, 'Well, talk to Paul' or, 'I'll talk to Paul.'

"He also had a faculty for adjusting himself to a new situation even when he was ninety years old. It was remarkable. When we expanded or had a merger, he was the one who would pick the thing apart. He was always ready to take on something new. I never heard him say, 'Well, we did so and so before and we'd better stay with it.'

"Homer Clark delegated responsibility and believe me, he was there to check on you. He had a system that was absolutely unusual. He would ask you a question that you wouldn't think was related at all to what he was driving at, and you had better be careful, because you could be tripped up pretty quickly.

"If he wasn't happy with something, you'd know it. He never pounded his fist on the table; he never got out of control. But he had a way of letting you know if he

wasn't happy with what you did. Believe me, he didn't have any trouble getting people corrected.

"He developed a sort of sixth sense in people. Many times at night, or perhaps the next day, I'd be thinking about something Mr. Clark had mentioned that didn't seem to point toward anything directly, and I would suddenly realize what he was getting at. To prove it to myself, I'd call up with the answer. Homer's approach was effective when you just couldn't tell someone they had to do this or that.

"I think Mr. Clark had plenty of opportunities to really get angry, but I never saw him do so and we were associated for thirty years or more."

Sandberg relates how Homer Clark was influential in his becoming president of Waldorf Paper Products Company.

"I remember the day a few of the people asked me to become president of Waldorf. I asked Mr. Clark's advice, saying, 'Maybe Schilling and I should both leave and let a new team come in.' Mr. Clark thought it over and said, 'Come back tomorrow.' I called him the next day and asked if I could see him . . . come over. He said, 'You don't have to come. You have no choice but to take the job.' He never did tell me how he came to that conclusion and I never asked him. If he wanted to elaborate on it, he would have. Whatever his reasons, he didn't want to discuss them with me, so . . . period."

Paul Schilling also reminisced in an interview about Clark and Waldorf:

"Our close association really goes back to 1929. I was at Waldorf when Mr. Myers, the president, died suddenly, and the company was in bad shape, so Mr. Clark was asked to come in as president and see what could be done. He talked to all of us and he decided—the board decided—that I was going to be the secretary and general manager.

"So there I was. I was thirty-eight and I was the principal officer and very much younger than the other men. It was quite an experience.

"After Homer had been president awhile, he said to me, 'You know, I don't believe in fiction. Paul, you're the president of the company and at the annual meeting I'm going to see that you are *made* president.' So I then became secretary and president.

"Homer would come out every morning to Waldorf and sit down and talk. I would tell him about the business, but he would never look at a detailed statement of all that we were doing—a general statement, yes, but that was all. The only important thing was what I would say to him.

"He had a habit of telling stories—with a point. Once, some of the men came to me and said, 'You know, he tells the damnedest stories, they have no . . . no punch line.' I replied, Homer Clark *never* tells a story that doesn't have a punch line. You haven't been getting it!"

Schilling talked about some of Clark's eccentricities:

"He was always so secretive. When we had a directors' meeting, I would pass out the statement and before the directors left, Homer would pick them all up again.

"He had a phobia about any of his own people at West being on any boards as directors. Nobody except himself. Isn't that a funny thing?

"With Homer Clark, if you told him something once, you had better tell him the same thing a second time, because he had a memory . . . he never forgot."

Schilling recalls that Clark would talk about many things when he was in his Waldorf office.

"One of the things he said to me was that by the example of what he did, he tried to instill in people this business of being generous in civic responsibilities. This was so true with me. [Because] of the many things he said to me, I became involved in many civic affairs."

Both Schilling and Sandberg remember well the Corgi dog that was Clark's inseparable companion, for he always took the dog with him to Waldorf on Saturday mornings. Sandberg had good reason to remember the Corgi.

"That dog used to sit with his alligator-like jaws fastened loosely around my ankle all the time I'd be talking to

Mr. Clark—and that might be for hours. He never bit me, though."

Homer Clark served on Waldorf's board of directors as chairman from the time Paul Schilling became president (in 1935) until 1937, when the company signed its first union contract. When the union came in, Clark went into Schilling's office and said, "Paul, I'm going to resign as chairman of the board. How could I be chairman here and have a union? They could use that on me at West and I'd be in a very difficult position."

So he resigned, but stayed on the board until 1965.

After Clark stopped driving a car, in his late eighties, Nels Sandberg would pick him up at his home at 534 Summit Avenue on Saturday mornings and take him to the Hoerner Waldorf plant. There he would stay for hours, talking about business affairs. Occasionally he took one of his three daughters with him and showed her around.

Another past president of Hoerner Waldorf has many memories of Homer Clark, too, though he was forty years younger than Clark, and served as president in the years after Clark left the board. John H. Myers is the son of Paul N. Myers, who was president the brief time in 1929 before his death. John H. Myers joined Waldorf right after World War II and took his mother's place on the board of directors. He started in the research department as an assistant. Myers, who was responsible for most of the administrative matters needed to complete the merger in the sixties with Hoerner Box Company of Keokuk, Iowa, said of Mr. Clark:

"I revered him very much. I knew he had been a valued director of Waldorf for many years, and that shortly after my father's death, he took over as president, while still heading West Publishing Company, of course.

"I remember some amusing things. He had a delightful sense of humor and we chuckled about this a few times afterwards. When we in Waldorf talked to market analysts and bankers in New York, they would be amused by the very conservative philosophy of the Waldorf Paper Products Company's development, particularly under the guidance of Homer Clark. This was

great in early days. Today it seems a bit humorous. All during Mr. Clark's era of influence at Waldorf—and I think he perhaps influenced it more basically than any other man—even up to the late 1950s, an annual meeting of the company would consist of anywhere from 150 to 250 shareholders. As they entered the room, they each would be handed one 9-by-11 sheet of paper which comprised the annual report. The sheet would have a very brief listing of assets and liabilities. There would be no mention of sales whatsoever. There would be a short statement of total earnings in dollars. In the upper left-hand corner there would be a small number, because when you left the meeting through the single-width door, you were expected to turn back the annual report.

"I think that was part of Mr. Clark's basic thinking, that you didn't pass out any information on a company that was not listed. He believed that there should never be a banker on the board, and there never was. He didn't believe in borrowing any money, ever, and Waldorf never did. This amuses the bankers who would say that if a company today is not borrowing, it's being stupid, it's not growing, and it's not taking advantage of monies that can be made available.

"But in those days it was not accepted. Mr. Clark didn't believe in going on the board of any bank, though he did serve as a director of the Federal Reserve Board.

"One of the interesting things he did—this always gets a chuckle out of the officers of the Bankers Trust Company in New York—this must have been back in the early thirties . . . he thought that some day Waldorf might need a New York banker, and so he invested $500,000 of Waldorf's assets in Bankers Trust Company just in case of a rainy day. I believe the records show that that amount sat there in an open checking account for over twenty-five years. It was available in case the company should ever come to trouble. I presume it was done because of the Depression when there might have been need for it. Of course, $500,000 in the thirties, available to a bank with no charges against it, was a very valuable asset. Bankers Trust was always willing to play ball with Waldorf.

"This was part of the far-sighted thinking of Homer Clark. Another thing. He was a great believer that there should never be company parties. He felt a company party could do more harm to the morale of an organization than almost anything else.

"I remember that at the time of the Hoerner-Waldorf merger in 1966, the Hoerner Company had a modest, long-term debt of something like seven or eight million dollars. I think this debt was one of the principal reasons Mr. Clark decided he should no longer serve on our board of directors. Waldorf had never had any debt, and I think he felt this was going to be a smudge on that record. Granted there may have been other reasons, such as age, (he was ninety-eight when the merger was completed) but I really think he felt that any company with a debt couldn't be all that good and perhaps this was the time for him to step out. He would never actively oppose such a move. He would just quietly retire. Perhaps he sensed that business, as he had known it, was changing, and that his own particular philosophy was no longer going to fit."

Myers remembers how Homer Clark kept his interest in Horner Waldorf after he had retired and was confined to his home. "I would get calls from him, usually in the evening and about once a month. 'John,' he would say, 'how are things doing? I'm particularly interested in that new equipment you installed in Montana. How is it working out?' He had an uncanny ability to remember something that was proposed or started eight or ten years earlier. He asked very specific questions, zeroing in on specific projects he knew were under way or had been under way, asking how they had turned out.

"I think that what so many saw as a passion for secrecy was merely his Yankee upbringing—not taking your problems to anyone else, not revealing your feelings or wearing them on your lapel, not being talkative. This, I think, helped free him to understand a situation, come up with a solution, and express it with such empathy and understanding that it demonstrated that here was a man who cared. He projected his confidence in you; he inspired you. If you were right, his backing was

the greatest inspiration you could have. If you were wrong, he had a suggestion as to how you might temper the situation and be right."

CHAPTER SEVEN

The World of Philanthropy

HOMER P. CLARK was a caring man. The words *share* and *give* formed the foundation of his philosophy on living. Because he cared, he watched carefully over the welfare and needs of his family, friends, community, and country, doing far more than his share to meet those needs.

He was a man "well grounded in the basic concerns of life," said Charles Birt, St. Paul civic leader and one of Clark's closest community associates.

The extent of his giving and sharing can only be imagined as it was not in Clark's modest nature to keep records of this sort. It would have been unthinkable for him to tell people what he was doing to help others. His philanthropic activities, like every other facet of his life, were carried on very quietly, with much forethought and

study. But privately he was a sentimental man who saved and treasured many mementos. In his papers are dozens of thank-you letters covering eighty-five years of his life which are silent tribute to his deep concern and great generosity.

It must be emphasized here, however, that Clark was not a pushover for any cause that came along. People from all walks of life and institutions of all kinds turned to him for help, but before he committed either time or money, he carefully studied the worthiness of the request no matter what pressures were being put upon him. Actually, most of his gifts, either personal or charitable, were his own idea rather than a response to an outside plea. His observant eye would see a need, and he would quietly fill it in his own way—a radio for a sick friend, a cash gift for a needy college student, a stipend for a man unable to work, a trip for a European friend, a check to make up a Community Chest deficit, hockey rink equipment for the Neighborhood House, money for helpless war victims—the list could go on and on. He found jobs for people; advised friends on many (and money) matters; shopped in Europe and other countries for friends and relatives back home; donated to charitable, civic, educational, and religious institutions.

Looking back on Clark's long life of community service, the pattern is clear. He carefully chose which organizations or projects he wished to support, and once they were chosen, worked tirelessly to meet goals.

Clark's major commitments of time and/or money were to the following: Hamline University, St. Paul Academy, the Y.M.C.A., the Minnesota Historical Society, William Mitchell College of Law, the Union Gospel Mission, Macalester College, Carleton College, St. Paul Good Will, National Council for Youth, the United Fund (formerly Community and War Relief Chest), the American Red Cross, St. Paul's Children's Hospital, and the American Unitarian Association.

Clark served as president of the James Jerome Hill Library in St. Paul for twenty-five years; was president of the State Veterans War Relief Commission and member-at-large of the State Veterans Service Building Com-

mission; was a Class C Director for the Ninth Federal Reserve District from 1914 to 1936 and again from 1950 to 1955, longer than any other person in its history up to that time; was a member of the St. Paul City Hall and Court House Commission; and was vice chairman of four World War I Liberty Loan bond drives.

He also contributed money and service to the White Bear Yacht Club; the Nushka Curling Club; Unitarian churches in Brewster and Boston (Massachusetts); the Republican party; the Brewster Historical Society; the Brewster Park Association, particularly its sailing program; the Christian Youth Center sponsored by St. Paul's Temple Baptist Church; and a summer camp in Elk River for children.

Each of these interests benefited from Homer Clark's wisdom, insight, and knowledge of law and finance. (Acquaintances say he knew more about money matters than anyone else in Minnesota.) He saw the Hill Library through its early years when the shelves were bare and nothing existed but the Hill family's dream. As president he was not a figurehead who merely lent his name to the project. He was involved in day-to-day development, helping to guide the institution to its status as an important reference library. When Clark worked on the World War I Liberty Bond drives—under difficulties related later—he helped put the Ninth Federal Reserve District well over the top of its quota, thus aiding immeasurably in the war effort. His erudition in art and architecture were to be of major assistance to the St. Paul City Hall and Ramsey County Court House Commission in the 1930s. As a member of the Commission he helped select the architects, monitored costs, and assisted in such decision making as the choice of sculptor for the famous Peace Indian in the building's lobby. (His family remembers that he wasn't completely sold on Carl Milles's onyx Indian when it was chosen, but in the interests of harmony, went along with the choice.)

In the early years of the White Bear Yacht Club Clark promoted regattas with Twin Cities yacht clubs and Inland Lake Yachting Association clubs, sponsoring racing cups for their competitions. He served as president

of the Inland Lake Yachting Association in 1906, and worked hard to improve rules and promote regattas. After Clark purchased a home in Cape Cod and spent his summers there, he still supported the White Bear Yacht Club and sailed an ice boat on White Bear Lake in the winter.

In 1918, Clark was one of the organizers of the Community and War Relief Chest (forerunner of the United Fund), and was a benefactor of that organization to the end of his life, helping the Chest to earn its reputation as an outstanding social welfare agency. In gratitude the agency honored him at both its twenty-fifth and fiftieth anniversary celebrations. (The many honors from other groups are mentioned later.)

Some civic assignments turned out to be surprisingly difficult, Clark was to learn. Such was the case when he agreed to serve as vice chairman of the Liberty Bond drive committee for the Ninth Federal Reserve District during World War I.

Clark was chosen to serve on the committee because of his outstanding work as a director for the Ninth Federal Reserve District. He welcomed the opportunity to serve his country inasmuch as he was too old to join the service.[1]

The job of the bond drive committee was to organize and execute a sales campaign which would raise millions of dollars for the war effort. The United States had waited four years to enter the European conflict but once committed to the Allied cause, planned an all-out effort to help win the war. Billions of dollars were needed by the United States to build and maintain a fighting machine and to support the Allies financially.

Banks, newspapers, department stores, jobbers (wholesalers), schools, manufacturers, and theaters helped with the bond drives. Patriotic speakers called the "Four Minute Men" spread the word on the need for funds.

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1. The Clark family tells of an amusing incident in connection with war service. It seems that during World War II either a clerk or a computer made the mistake of sending Clark a draft notice for the armed services. He was seventy at the time. He would have been only too happy to serve if he could have.

Liberty Bond salesmen had to convince prospects that the bonds were a good investment and that by investing, the investor was providing equipment for soldiers.

Under the leadership of the Liberty Bond central committees in each of the country's twelve federal reserve districts, five Liberty Bond drives were conducted. In the first campaign in 1917, it was left to a citizen's own judgment how many bonds he or she should buy.

In the second campaign, solicitors began pressuring people they thought might be subscribing too little. By the third drive, however, a committee of bankers and others in a position to know a citizen's financial standing worked out quotas for individuals and businesses. The amount expected of each citizen or institution was noted on a card which was given to the solicitor. To some citizens, this seemed like unwarranted dictation and their resentment was expressed to Liberty Bond central committee members, such as Homer Clark.

Immigrants were included on quota lists, and this caused further trouble. While many bought bonds willingly, some were torn between loyalty to their homeland and to the United States and they consequently refused to buy bonds. Such nonsubscribers were checked out by a Liberty Loan organization investigator under the supervision of Chairman Rogers, Vice Chairman Clark, and other officers on the central committee. Many unpleasant situations arose. Pro-German immigrants were the greatest problem to the Liberty Bond drive committee.

Eventually the atmosphere became charged with hostility between loyal citizens and noncooperating immigrants and others who did not support the war effort. Decisions on how to handle such opposition had to be made constantly by Homer Clark and his co-officers, each situation testing the administrative and judicial talents of these volunteers connected with the bond drives.

Never one to dodge a difficult situation, Clark worked with the investigators to solve the problems connected with immigrants and other citizens who were not meeting their quotas. Clark had many other bond drive

assignments. He planned and ran sales campaigns, helped set quotas, called on corporations, conferred with Washington officials, and helped with publicity.

In the setting of state and city quotas, the liberty loan organization had to deal with the possibility of inflation if total liberty loans were too large. Homer Clark consulted Minnesota's Senator Frank Kellogg and other congressional leaders about a possible increase in taxation to offset such inflation. He found Senator Kellogg interested in the theory of undistributed earnings tax to prevent corporations from purchasing too many war bonds, but told Clark that he feared the consequences of such a move. Corporations would fight fiercely against such a tax.

Throughout the war years, many roadblocks were thrown in the way of the Liberty Bond drives. Some were intended to harm those citizens who were loyal to the war effort. For example:

—Many immigrants withdrew their money from banks that were loyal to the Allied cause and deposited it in other banks;

—Patriotic office holders were defeated at election time for being patriots;

—A Wisconsin man wrote an article for the *Atlantic Monthly* entitled "Prussianizing Wisconsin" which damned the "strong-arm methods" used by the government, through its liberty loan organization, to force purchase of bonds;

—A mailman in Emerald, Wisconsin, was suspected of throwing away Liberty Bond advertising mail. Patriotic citizens wanted the man out of government service for failure to do his duty and for tampering with the mail. He had been overheard saying, in a rough, coarse voice and brusque manner, "Get out of my way, I've got a lot more of this _____ _____ liberty loan literature to distribute!" (In answer to an inquiry into the matter by Homer Clark, the Wisconsin liberty loan chairman wrote, "He poisons the atmosphere wherever

he goes and is a menace to every good work those people are trying to carry on.")

Clark suggested that if possible proof be found that the mailman had been tampering with the mail, as this would give the liberty loan organization grounds for reporting him.

Being public servants in the war effort, Homer Clark and his coworkers in the liberty loan organization were often the targets of abusive mail. One bond subscriber who apparently had not made a scheduled payment and had received a notice which said, "You are directed to call at once at the bank to make payment due on Fourth Liberty loan bonds," wrote: "Isn't it time to stop ordering everybody around? The war is over. If you expect subscribers to your next Liberty Loan get a human being to write these notices. I have heard many criticisms of the methods of your Central Committee and its lack of tact."

A less traumatic assignment for Clark involved putting up "painted bulletins" with war messages on important streets in St. Paul and other cities. Under the leadership of Benjamin Bull,[2] Clark and others raised money to put up these billboards which promoted various phases of the war effort—food conservation, the Red Cross, war savings stamps, liberty loans, and so forth. Bull tested his ideas for the bulletins on Clark, and asked him to find sponsors in St. Paul to finance the messages. "If this looks like a good plan to you, do you not think we could get subscribers for all the St. Paul boards so that we can immediately paint them up for the Thrift and Savings stamps, later switching them over to Liberty Loans with new copy?"

Clark immediately began to telephone and within a short time had lined up sponsors for the ten St. Paul boards. Clark himself took the sponsorship of the one for St. Peter at Fifth Street. The bulletins were changed four times a year and cost each sponsor thirty-five dollars a quarter.

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2. An employee of General Mills.

Many of Homer Clark's ideas for running the bond drives were adopted by other federal reserve districts, and he spent much time outlining his program plans to Washington officials. Trips to New York and other cities were necessary, too, and on one to New York, Clark wrote his wife, Bessie: "They are all much interested in our plans for raising the Loan. Booths everywhere selling Liberty Bonds and they made speeches in the Biltmore dining room today. Lots of Canadian soldiers and a number of wounded American soldiers just got back today."

In spite of all the problems, the liberty loan drives under Arthur Rogers, Homer Clark, and the other officers were enormously successful, with subscriptions running well over the quotas.

In keeping with his usual meticulousness, no detail was too small for Clark's keen attention in his Liberty Bond work. After the list of subscribers of each Liberty Bond campaign was published in the Twin Cities newspapers, he painstakingly went over the publications to be sure all names and amounts were accurate. There were mistakes, of course, and he personally sent revisions to the newspapers to insure correct publicity.

Still another World War I assignment for Homer Clark was chairing the Ramsey County War Savings Committee which was in charge of the sales campaign to sell thrift stamps and war savings stamps. These securities were created so that people of limited means could still participate in supporting the war; the thrift stamps sold for twenty-five cents and the war savings stamps for $4.12. Under Clark's direction, wide publicity was given this program in newspapers, in church pulpits, speeches, posters, billboards, and schools. More than two million dollars was raised the first year.

During World War I, Clark, in addition to his vice chairmanship for the Liberty Bond program and war savings work, also supported the founding of the St. Paul War Chest in 1918. The War Chest eventually evolved into the Community Chest, and then became the Greater St. Paul United Fund. Homer Clark was to be

a major supporter of this program all of his life and was a board member of the organization for many years.

Charles Birt, then executive director of the Community Chest, believes Clark supported the agency because of its emphasis on patriotism and "its orderly process of raising funds through a federated giving plan."

"The whole idea of federated giving appealed to Homer because of his belief in sharing with others, his deep-seated feeling for his fellow man, and the belief that community responsibilities should be shared by its citizens," said Birt, in an interview by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1969. Birt said that Clark played a most important part, in his quiet way, in the leadership of the Community Chest board.

"He formulated thoughts and came up with opinions which invariably were accepted by those who served with him. He was always an active participant in forming community policy and expressing his views as to the wisdom and constructive value of such policies."

Birt felt that Clark's interests were first in family service and remedial forms of welfare service, but with the change in funding philosophy of public agencies, his interests shifted towards youth—Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, summer camps, and so forth.

Between 1920 and the 1960s, Clark's philanthropic involvements were not as exciting, perhaps, as the World War I experience, but one assignment he took on in 1945 during World War II gave him equal satisfaction, and probably more pleasure.

In 1945, when a commission was created by the state legislature to beautify the capitol grounds and erect the War Veterans Service Building, Governor Edward Thye appointed Clark member-at-large of the commission. Also appointed were Major General E. A. Walsh, Minneapolis, member-at-large, and one legislator from each of Minnesota's nine districts. Clark was seventy-seven at the time. He served throughout the life of the commission, which was more than four years.

At the time the commission was created, the area surrounding Cass Gilbert's magnificent state capitol building in St. Paul was in a deplorable state of urban blight,

a fact that greatly distressed Homer Clark. Dilapidated houses, barns, office buildings—some of which were remnants of St. Paul's earliest years—blocked the view of the capitol from almost every angle of approach.

The commission's job was threefold: to acquire through condemnation proceedings and purchases about ninety acres of land surrounding the capitol building, to sponsor a competition for the design of the War Veterans Service Building and grounds beautification, and to work with the City of St. Paul in relocating streets and utilities and cleaning up areas fringing the capitol grounds.

Due to a housing shortage in St. Paul during this postwar period, condemnation proceedings and cleanup were delayed, and costs escalated beyond the original appropriation, but by 1950, the commission's work was nearly complete. Minnesota had a capitol complex area in St. Paul as beautiful as any in the United States, with rose gardens, ornamental trees, broad walkways, and a striking view of the capitol building from all approaches. Homer Clark devoted countless hours to commission work, for improving the capitol grounds was a labor of love for him.

One of the difficult problems which arose was making sure no new buildings in the complex blocked the view of the capitol. (Clark always felt that the state administration building erected in 1966 did not have a low enough profile, although the architect had built three stories underground to keep the view of the capitol unobstructed.)

Throughout all of his years of work for his city, state, and country, Homer Clark wanted no public fuss over his philanthropic activities, and worked hard to keep out of the public eye. Recognition came to him anyway, in the form of citations, plaques, and honorary doctorates from St. Thomas College and Hamline University.

As mentioned earlier, the St. Paul Greater United Fund honored him at both its twenty-fifth and fiftieth anniversaries, citing him for "his clear vision, unprejudiced mind, loyalty and deep understanding of commun-

ity needs, and for his assistance in fund raising." Clark was unable to attend the fiftieth anniversary ceremonies, but he was honored in absentia as the oldest living board member and one of the founders of the organization. Stated the United Fund officers in honoring Clark and his associates, "These leaders were concerned with the waste and duplicate effort of individual fund drives by various agencies and their overlapping programs." At the time Clark became involved in Community Chest work he was already a leader in the St. Paul chapter of the American Red Cross, having become a charter board member in 1918. He was president of the World War I War Relief Chest.

On December 31, 1920, Clark received a Certificate of Appreciation from the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety for his work in coordinating the industries and resources of Minnesota during World War I.

A tribute came from the Red Cross on March 31, 1943, in recognition of Clark's "support to the cause of humanity and in deep appreciation of splendid assistance in our appeal for funds to carry on the work of the American Red Cross at home and overseas." On his hundredth birthday, the American Red Cross again cited him, this time for his thirty-six years of dedicated service.

In 1949, during the celebration of Minnesota's Territorial Centennial, Homer Clark was named as one of the "One Hundred Living Great of Minnesota," in recognition and appreciation of unselfish contribution to the progress of the State. The "Living Great" project was carried out by the Territorial Centennial Commission (Julius M. Nolte, director) and the Minnesota Junior Chamber of Commerce (Allan D. Heuerman, president).

On December 9, 1955, the Board of Directors of the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, prepared a "Memorandum of Esteem" for presentation to Clark, "Publisher, Lawyer, Financier and Distinguished Citizen, through whose innate wisdom, extensive experience, extreme loyalty, and Yankee rectitude the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis has been wisely counseled

and the lives of its Directors, Officers and Employees have been vastly enriched." President Oliver S. Powell, in sending the red and gold plaque to Homer Clark, wrote, "The Board of Directors of this bank held its December meeting here today. It was a good meeting, but it had a somber tone because . . . you were unable to attend the last meeting of the Board during your long and distinguished directorship. However, I am happy to say that our Board unanimously voted to present you with a testimonial of its high regard, and this memento is going forward to you today."

Homer Clark had served as a member of the bank's board for thirty years, the longest service of any man in the bank's history at that time.

At its annual commencement of 1961, Hamline University conferred an Honorary Doctor of Law Degree upon Homer Clark. In presenting the award, President Paul H. Giddens said, after citing Clark's many business accomplishments, "As a citizen you have with great modesty given generously and unselfishly of your talent, time, energy, and means to many worthy charitable, cultural, and educational activities. You justly deserve the designation, 'Saint Paul's First Citizen.' "

In 1963, the St. Paul Area Chamber of Commerce named Homer P. Clark the first "Great Living St. Paulite," an honor to go annually to a living St. Paul citizen who had made outstanding contributions to the community and actively provided community leadership.

The award plaque read:

What a man does for himself dies with him, but what he does for his community lives forever. Citation of recognition to Homer P. Clark for your enlightened leadership, devotion to civic betterment and for your selfless, untiring, and generous contributions to the progress of St. Paul.

As Homer Clark, now ninety-four, could not attend the annual Chamber of Commerce banquet where the

year's awards were to be given out, the "Great Living St. Paulite" award was presented to Clark in the lounge at West Publishing Company where he still "reported" each day for two hours of desk work. (Lee Slater, then West Publishing president, received the award on behalf of Homer Clark at the Chamber of Commerce annual meeting.)

From this point on, family and friends affectionately addressed Clark as "Mr. St. Paul."

Also in the 1960s, recognition for distinguished public service came from many more organizations including the Ramsey County commissioners, the St. Paul City Council, the St. Paul Curling Club (honorary life membership awarded March 28, 1965), and the medical profession for his leadership in establishing the Ancker Research Center.

Such formal expressions of appreciation and gratitude were highly cherished by Homer Clark. Equally cherished were the many informal and personal tributes to him by friends and coworkers. William W. Marvin of West Publishing Company wrote Clark on his birthday on July 6, 1964 (his ninety-sixth), "Again this year, I thank you for your friendship. Your guidance and leadership in West Publishing Company over a span of many years—appreciated by many of your associates, past and present—resulted in a remarkable foundation for its continued growth to this day. Coupled with your generous attitude of sharing with others, this has brought wealth to scores and a good living, plus lifetime security to literally thousands of the company's employees."

John Lawler, another West employee, wrote Homer Clark in 1966, "In this day of hustle and bustle, too often too many of us are prone to take for granted courtesies and considerations extended to us by others and never taking a moment to express our appreciation. It is not my desire to be so classified, so I wish to express my appreciation to you for making my position (with West) possible. It must be indeed gratifying to you, Mr. Clark, to look back on what you have achieved and the tremendous opportunity you have made possible for so many. I am most humbly grateful for your far-sighted, well-

planned efforts and your debtor in a way that cannot be repaid."

One wonders where Homer Clark found the time for so many outside activities, especially in view of the fact that whenever he became involved in a project, he wanted to be totally knowledgeable about the field it was in. He asked questions, read background materials, talked to those involved. By the end of his service on any volunteer assignment, Homer Clark was completely knowledgeable on the topic, and remained so the rest of his life.

His involvement with the building of the Ramsey County Courthouse is a prime example of this intense interest. As a member of the commission for the courthouse, Clark studied architectural plans for courthouses around the country to see what components would be useful to St. Paul. He interviewed architects and studied their proposals, a task that took many hours. He investigated building materials and building costs. He read books on the architecture of public buildings.

Clark's extensive travels throughout the world, with numerous visits to art galleries, were to be helpful to him on this assignment, and more important, helpful to the other commission members who knew less about art. They could depend on sound opinions from him. This knowledge was especially useful to the commission when the question arose of what kind of art or sculpture should go into the lobby of the new Courthouse. Crucial to a decision was some knowledge of the nature of various materials used by sculptors—what would be workable, what would last, which medium would have the greatest artistic appeal to the public.

Thomas Ellerbe of Ellerbe Architects describes the problem facing them in regard to the space in the Courthouse (also to serve as the city hall) designated for sculpture:

"We had an area twelve feet wide and forty feet high to work with, and I said to myself, 'How are we going to get a statue in there?' I decided it would take somebody who was a genius and could make colossal statues. Paul Manship was the first sculptor we thought of. He had become famous and about this time he was working

on a piece of art for Rockefeller Center. I interviewed him but he said he was too busy and couldn't do it. I was very discouraged, but then one of the men with the architects helping us—Holabird and Root—told me about Carl Milles of Sweden who had sculpted some pretty large pieces. He was very creative and imaginative. When I talked to him about the courthouse [problem] he immediately became enthused.

"After a good deal of trial and error, he came up with the idea of depicting a 'God of Peace' coming out of smoke. It was a very dramatic idea and we got the idea of having the Indian on a turntable. We had trouble getting pieces of onyx big enough, but finally it all worked out.

"I remember Homer Clark and other committee members talking it over. Mr. Clark was a great help because of his knowledge about art; he had traveled a great deal and knew what he was talking about."

No account of Homer Clark's "sharing and giving" can omit his kindnesses to friends and relatives, partly because his generosity got him into some situations that make interesting reading.

Once, half jokingly, Homer Clark's father, Charles Clark, said to Homer's sister, Mary, "The less Homer knows, the more brazen he becomes." This was perhaps the case when it came to advising people how to keep their cars running (in the late 1890s and early 1900s). Though Homer Clark was not mechanically minded, he was asked continually by friends and relatives what car he thought they should buy, and how to keep their cars running properly. When sure of his information, he would answer inquiries with his opinion. His son-in-law, Charles Putnam, once wrote Clark, "I took your advice about wrapping the carburetor in a cloth to keep it warm, and the auto seems to run much better."

Another instance of his generous heart was his agreement at one time to be sort of an unofficial guardian to an alcoholic second cousin, who, though very bright and ambitious, could not abstain from drinking liquor. He agreed to watch over the cousin for the sake of the man's wife and other relatives, and try to persuade him

to stop imbibing though nothing could have been more disagreeable for Clark.

In another instance, Homer Clark agreed to play marriage counselor and try to talk the daughter of one of his close business friends out of marrying a man the father thought unsuitable. The result was one usually found only in fiction. The young woman so admired Clark that she listened, took his advice seriously, rejected the young man, and even thanked Clark for his interest. This whole situation was unique for Clark as he was not one to interfere in other people's private affairs.

Many instances of Clark's personal benevolence have come to light only since his death. One typical one concerned two men in Chatham on Cape Cod, one a seriously ill man who was unable to work; the other, a man with a drinking problem.

"Dad found a way to help them both at the same time," related Helen Clark MacGregor. "He went to the man with a drinking problem, gave him a sum of money and told him that once a week he was to give ten dollars to the man who was ill, but was never to tell him where the money came from. When the money was exhausted he was to apply to Dad for more, and this evidently was to go on indefinitely. He was trying to do a helpful thing for one man, the one who was ill, and at the same time instill a sense of responsibility in the man with a drinking problem."

Homer Clark's philanthropic acts were not confined to St. Paul or to Minnesota. The town of Brewster, Massachusetts, where he maintained his summer home in the Clark ancestral house, and its residents knew him as a true friend. He was always interested in helping with community improvement projects and set an example by maintaining the Isaac Clark house so it would be not only a beautiful summer home, but an asset to the town and a historic site for the state of Massachusetts and the town of Brewster.

Accounts of how Clark helped Brewster friends are many. One touching one was told by Henry T. Crocker in a letter written for Homer Clark in a testimonial book compiled by friends:

In the late fall of the year 1924 I found myself trying to buy out a local businessman who operated a general store in the town of Brewster with the problem of trying to borrow money with no security except for faith, hope and charity. I had known Mr. Clark from the time I was a small boy and although it took me two days to get up my courage to go and see him on this errand, I finally did go.

What Mr. Clark did for me at that time, I shall not forget. It spelled the difference to me between success and failure. It has always been a mystery to me how he came to decide to help me but he certainly did and I have been everlastingly grateful to him. I have tried to do the same for two young men just starting out in life, but I'm afraid my judgment was not as good as his.

In trying to help the two young men, Crocker was grasping the principle behind Homer Clark's help which was, simply, "Go and do likewise."

Hayden L. Stright, for many years executive director of the Minnesota Council of Churches and an officer of the Mayflower Society, tells about his experience with Clark's anonymous kindness. When the *Mayflower II* was to make its historic voyage to Plymouth, New England, from Plymouth, England, Dr. Stright, one of the Mayflower descendants and Society officials, was invited to make the voyage. He recalls he was forced to decline the honor for financial reasons. Shortly afterwards he was notified that both the flight to England to join the ship, and passage on the *Mayflower II* had been arranged for both him and his wife. Dr. Stright finally discovered after some investigation that the anonymous "angel" had been Homer Clark.

Clark was not only a generous donor, he was uniquely skilled in raising funds for worthy causes. His efforts over sixty years brought in untold thousands of dollars for charitable causes. Many a fund-raising campaign went "over the top" because of Homer P. Clark.

Clark's money-raising techniques were specific and successful. For example, when calling on someone to solicit for a given charity or cause, he would take a committee with him made up of persons the prospective donor

might want to impress, thus putting that person in a position where he or she couldn't turn the solicitation down. This was done only when Clark knew full well the person being called on could well afford to give generously. He was very shrewd about going to the right people.

Clark had a strong feeling, too, that in the matter of giving, there was an amount that was appropriate for each situation and an amount that was not. Once during a fund drive he called up the Archbishop of St. Paul and told him he was pledging too much for such and such a cause. The Archbishop replied that he knew how great the need was and so had decided to close down his large residence and move to smaller quarters so he could save enough to make good on his pledge. But Clark felt the residence should not be closed, because it had great value to both Catholics and Protestants. In the end, the Archbishop scaled down his gift.

In all business or civic matters, Clark was known for his "very soft, quiet sell," as the late Julian Baird put it.

Catherine Clark Kroeger remembers that during the Depression her father was concerned over what to feed needy families:

"He suggested baked beans. That's what he had eaten as a child and he'd always known it was the cheapest meal you could eat in Boston. He was told, however, that when electric and gas stoves came in, a pot of beans was no longer an inexpensive item by the time they had been baked six hours. That was a great surprise to him, I remember," said Catherine.

Homer Clark's overall approach to community service is perhaps best expressed in a 1941 letter he wrote the Federal Reserve Board: "Inasmuch as I feel that my services on the Board of the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis . . . are a public service, I would prefer not to accept compensation for such services."

And he didn't. Not one penny for any of his many community endeavors. Pay, like publicity, was unthinkable in Homer Clark's code.

One final memory comes from Charles Birt, former executive director, Community Chest: "Many times Homer

Clark and I—casually or by appointment—would meet at the Minnesota Club. We would sit down and break bread and he'd ask all types of questions: 'What about this organization? What's its background? Do you think it should be supported?'

"I'd just give him my opinion as a professional, and knowing him, I knew he would make his own decisions. He knew from his long experience that social agencies are always fair game for opinionated discussion and dispute, and Mr. Clark exhibited a great awareness of it. To his credit, in his own way, [he would] evaluate all the facts before making a decision. Sometime around 1950 he retired from the board, but his guidance and advice on campaigns, policy determination, and discussions on budgetary decisions continued.

"The changes we all saw coming in Community Chest work required a certain resilience of many independent health programs, the need to spread the base of financial support for social agencies in the private sector, and the growing awareness of the substantial increases in public welfare funds. There was always support and sympathetic understanding toward these situations in my experience with Mr. Clark.

"He was an unassuming man with great integrity. Our luncheons were always enjoyable and my admiration for him grew the longer I had the pleasure to be associated with him. He left his imprint in this community in all walks of life, and I pay tribute to him for the deep-seated concern shown and support given to his less fortunate fellow citizens and families in the health, recreation, and welfare phases of our community life."

CHAPTER EIGHT

The World of Politics

YOUNG BOB CLARK once wrote his mother, "Dad probably wouldn't admit it, but what he would really like to be in is politics." This was a curious statement as his father, Homer Clark, had been involved in politics all his life and was considered a very powerful man in Minnesota's Republican party. Perhaps Clark had never told his son much about his political activities—only enough to reveal his enthusiasm for working in politics. One thing is certain—Clark never wanted to be in public service. Consistently, he refused any offer of public office; he wanted to work only behind the scenes. His life efforts in this area were, in fact, so much in the background that histories of Minnesota's political scene do not mention him.

In truth, Homer Pierce Clark's name should appear prominently on the pages of history, for he was politically

active all of the years Minnesota was making the transition from an unsophisticated frontier land to a complex, interdependent state of the union. Regrettably, most of his sage words on issues and candidates have vanished along with the other conversations in smoke-filled club rooms. Only through the memories of the few still living can we get a glimpse of Clark's efforts on behalf of good government. Later in this chapter some of these memories are recorded.

It is difficult to pinpoint any date in Homer Clark's life when he became active in politics, but we know that his family influenced him to take an early interest. Both the Pierces and the Clarks had, after their arrival on America's shores, taken a deep interest in clean politics and good government. "Good government" by family definition meant conservatism in spending, honesty and competency on the part of office holders, interest by government officials in the well-being of the people, just laws, and laissez faire. (If these standards could not be achieved in great measure, what good had their long and perilous journey to the New World served?)

Homer Clark took his political responsibilities seriously.[1] Like his father, he enjoyed visiting the Minnesota legislature and learning about the inner workings of democracy.

Clark's early political efforts were mostly on behalf of his employer, West Publishing Company. With his superior, Charles Ames, he spent many hours on legislation which would provide a favorable climate for the growth and development of corporations. Both men worked on labor legislation, in hopes of blocking the progress of organized labor.

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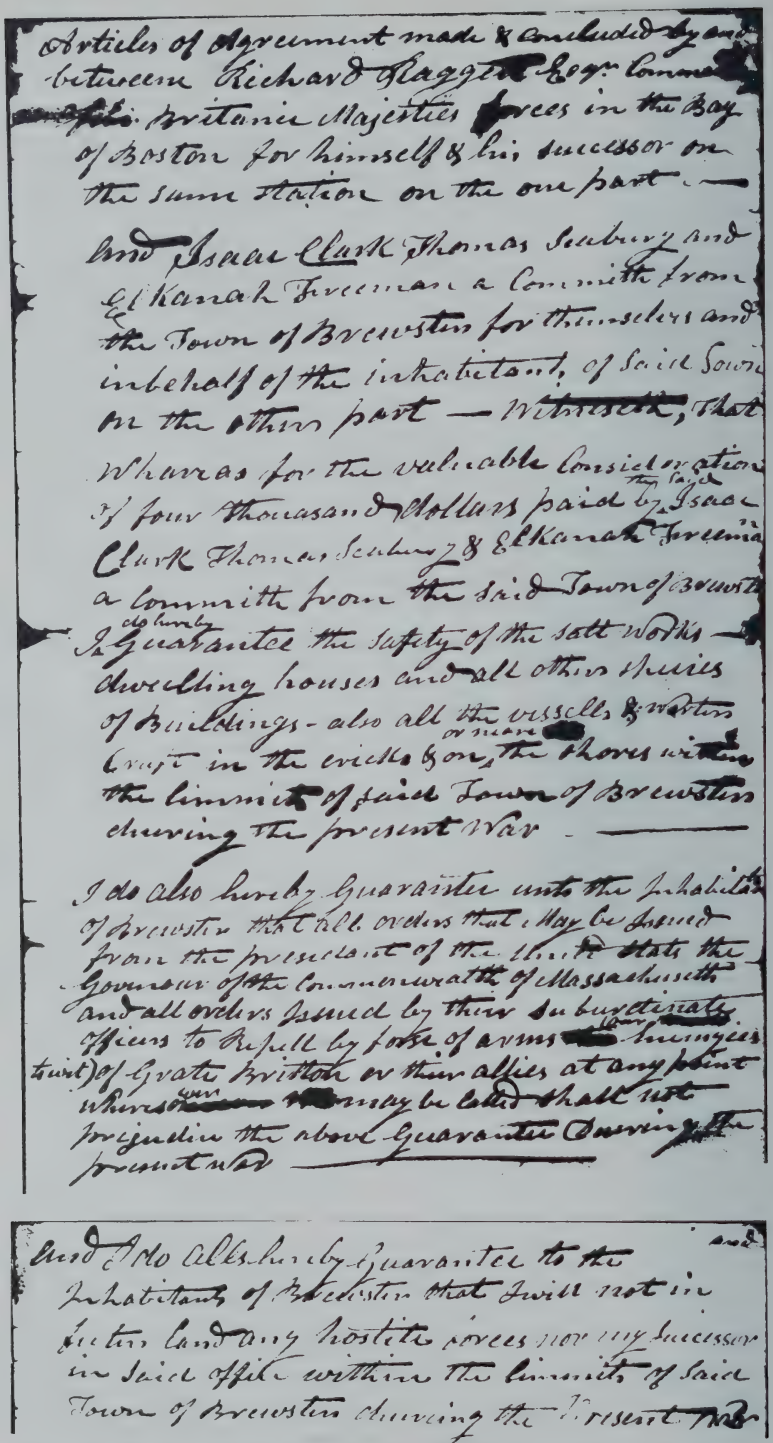
1. For example, his twenty-first birthday fell on July 6, 1889, the year he homesteaded a quarter section in the Wisconsin pineries. Although registering in Wisconsin meant a long journey by foot or by wagon through the wilderness to the county seat, the thought of not voting was never entertained. It was only a local election and it is probably a safe assumption that Clark voted Republican. He had just missed one of the more interesting presidential elections where Grover Cleveland received more popular votes than Benjamin Harrison, but Harrison garnered 233 electoral votes to Cleveland's 169.

Boston, May 2d. 1800.

Capt. Isaac Clark

Sir You being master of the Ship Financier now compleat for sea - My Orders are that you improve the first wind & proceed for Liverpool in England. On your arrival dispose of your cargo to the best advantage for my account the nett proceeds of which you will remit to Messrs. Barnbridge Ansley & Co merchants London, directing them to furnish you with a letter of credit for the same which when compleated proceed for St. Petersburgh at which place fully load your Vessel with hemp Iron Russian duck of the best kind one half of whatever you purchase one quarter of the midling & one quarter of the common or ordinary sort sheetings Rawen Duck &c. &c. purchase the manufactories in proportion to the prices there & the quantity you find shipping for this & the neighbouring states - to enable you to compleat the loading your vessel besides the nett proceeds of your cargo. I shall direct Capt. Ignatius Webber to pay into your hands Ten thousand dollars or securely lodge it subject to your order. I have this day inclosed

Captain Isaac Clark's sailing orders of May 2, 1800, which sent him and his ship to St. Petersburg, Russia.



Articles of Agreement made & concluded by and
between Richard Raggett Esqr. Commander
of his Britanic Majesties forces in the Bay
of Boston for himself & his successor on
the same station on the one part —
and Isaac Clark Thomas Seabury and
Elkanah Freeman a Committe from
the Town of Brewster for themselves and
in behalf of the inhabitants of said Town
on the other part — Witnesseth, that
Whereas for the valuable consideration
of four thousand Dollars paid by the said Isaac
Clark Thomas Seabury & Elkanah Freeman
a committe from the said Town of Brewster
I do hereby Guarantee the safety of the salt Works —
dwelling houses and all other sheds
of Buildings - also all the vessells & Watter
craft in the creeks & on the shores within
the limmits of said Town of Brewster
during the present War —

I do also hereby Guarantee unto the Inhabitants
of Brewster that all orders that may be issued
from the President of the United States the
Governour of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts
and all orders issued by their subordinate
Officers to Repell by force of arms the Enemyes
fleet of Great Britain or their allies at any point
where soever they may be called shall not
invalidate the above Guarantee During the
present war —

and I do also hereby Guarantee to the
Inhabitants of Brewster that I will not in
fact or land any hostile forces nor my successor
in said office within the limmits of said
Town of Brewster during the present War

The Articles of Agreement between Commodore Richard D. Raggett and the selectmen of Brewster, Mass., signed in September 1814 in which the British commander agreed not to destroy the Brewster salt works and guaranteed the future safety of the town in return for a $4,000 payment. Captain Isaac Clark formulated the agreement, the Clark family believes.

The Charles and Martha Clark family. Homer P. Clark's parents, Martha Cowper Pierce Clark, *top left,* and Charles Henry Clark, *top right,* photographed in the 1880s. *Center,* Homer's sister, Mary Clark (Putnam), *on the right,* with two cousins Mary Moseley and Mary Sears LaMeslee, all three were named for their grandmother, Mary Barnard Eaton Clark (Mrs. Lot Clark). *Bottom left,* Homer at the age of 2, and Mrs. Clark, *right,* holding his sister, Mary.

A map of the city of St. Paul in 1857, the year Charles Clark came to St. Paul to work in the hardware store of his cousin, Charles E. Mayo. The city's population in 1857 was about 1,000.

BRIGGS HOUSE,

COR. WEST MADISON AND CANAL STS.

WENTWORTH & WOOLWORTH, Proprietors.

Chicago, Febr 23 1872.

My dear little
HOMER

I have just received a letter for Ma Ma & she says you have received the letter I wrote you for Winona so I will send you another

I shall take the sleeping car for Indianapolis tonight & shall get the lower berth if I can & if I cannot get a lower berth will take an upper one same as you & Ma Ma slept in the when we went for Cincinnati to New York on the Atlantic & Great Western R R & when you put your head over in the morning & said - "good morning Pa Pa I dont believe it will be such a nice day as that was tho' I shall go for Indianapolis to Cincinnati & shall see Ma & Mrs Hammond & the dog & the horse & the chickens - do you remember the night you & I frightened them as down after they had gone to bed I hope baby is well & dear the laughs now when you talk to her

PA PA

A letter from Charles Clark to his son, Homer, from Chicago dated February 23, 1872, when Homer was 4 years old.

A youthful Homer Clark. *Top left,* Homer at age 9. *Top right,* this photo probably dates from Homer's final year in high school (1886–1887). The bottom photograph of Homer also dates from the late 1880s or early 1890s.

FINCH, VAN SLYCK & COMPANY,

WHOLESALE DRY GOODS.

GEORGE R. FINCH.
WM. H. VAN SLYCK.
ELBERT A. YOUNG.
C. J. MCCONVILLE.
NORMAN W. KITTSON } SPECIAL PARTNERS.
MAURICE AUERBACH }

ST. PAUL, MINN., 8/17 1889

Dear Mamma,—

Your letter came to hand yesterday afternoon & I have read & carefully thought over.

I had just about decided to go up in the woods about Sept 1st. Now I don't want to wait about deciding until you get home, as that would not give them much notice at the store, so I wish you would write as soon as you receive this. Are you coming home with Mary?

Now about the claim, a fellow stands a good show of getting a claim worth $5000.00 I think & even if you could only get a $2500.00 I believe it worth going for. Of course one must put up with a great deal, being along way from town, & having to put up with coarse food. then I suppose it is very cold there in winter. The place is between Duluth & Ashland near Lake Superior, so I would not be so very far from here & I could come down & visit now & then.

Then if I go I should hope to have Fred Kellogg or some other fellow that I know well go with me & take a claim near each other then we could be together most of the time first sleeping in one house & then the other. In that way we could have much better & cheaper living

The first page of a letter from Homer Clark to his mother dated August 17, 1889, explaining why he wanted "to go up in the woods" to Cranberry River country in northern Wisconsin.

The Spalding,

E. P. EMERSON, Prop.

Duluth., Minn, Aug 15 1890.

My Dear Papa,—

Here I am still, disgusted with trying to go on tugs, between weather breakdowns & uncertainties it seems most impossible to catch one.

I walked the dock all Wed. night & a good part of last night, though I got some sleep on a bench the latter part of last evening.

So I have made up my mind to take the first train for Iron River, and I don't much think I will ever bother with a tug again.

Your letter & one for Aunt Elja was received also my hat.

I feel pretty mean today, after not getting any sleep one night & only about half a night's sleep last night.

I am very short of money as I bought about $9.00 worth of stuff here, valalbe oil &c. they went on board the tug which was bound for Michigan but going to stop at Cranberry

Part of a long letter written by Homer Clark to his father from Duluth dated August 15, 1890, recounting some of the discouragements he was experiencing while trying to homestead in the Wisconsin woods.

Throughout his life, Homer Clark's main role in politics, whether on a national or local level, was to be a campaign fund raiser and a decision maker. For decades—roughly from 1900 through the 1940s—he and a small group of business leaders raised much of the money needed for financing Republican party campaigns or fights against legislation thought undesirable. Knowing the weight he carried and the wisdom of his judgments, most Republican candidates sought Clark's advice and approval.[2] Few major Republican party decisions were made without at least touching base with him. His knowledge of the law was an especially valuable asset to the party.

The two men who worked most closely with Clark on the political scene over many years were two prominent St. Paul citizens—Julian Baird of the First National Bank and Fred Bigelow of the St. Paul Fire & Marine Insurance Companies (now St. Paul Companies). These men were a triumvirate known as the "BBC" and they represented a powerful element within the Republican party. Three other Minnesotans worked closely with the BBC—John Crosby IV of Minneapolis, Robert Congdon of Duluth, and Ward Lucas of Winona.

In a testimonial letter written in honor of Clark's ninety-second birthday (1960), Crosby explained the purposes of this behind-the-scenes group:

> We worked to create a favorable atmosphere to good financing and favorable to business. To this end, we tried to help in electing suitable candidates for state offices. We worked at the grass roots to get reliable members in our state legisla-

2. Homer Clark's son-in-law Albert Blank says that "a lot of people think that he [Homer Clark] was extremely conservative and against all change, but I didn't think so. During the Johnson-Goldwater campaign in 1964, when Dad was ninety-six, I was going through St. Paul and I was pretty down on Goldwater myself, so I said, 'Well, Dad, what do you think of Goldwater?' For a moment he didn't say anything—he was gathering his thoughts—and then he said something I'd never heard him say before . . . because he never had a kind word for Democrats—I think he was Mr. Republican of St. Paul. He said this and nothing more: 'Well, this fellow Humphrey has a good idea once in awhile.'"

ture. We used to have regular meetings in St. Paul and Minneapolis.

I remember that when Fred [Bigelow] came into the room we were always aware of his presence, but Homer would slip quietly in and it was always Homer who made the final decision that was made. The men of the Twin Cities came to rely on this work and contributed most generously in providing the considerable sums of money necessary to do the work. In all the years, we never had a deficit.

A cardinal principle which guided the BBC and others who helped raise funds for political purposes was that the officials backed by them were never to know who contributed to their campaigns or how much. This principle was designed to keep anyone from trying to secure special privileges from an elected candidate because of financial support.

Too many years have slipped by for those friends of Homer Clark's who are still living to remember many specifics about his political activities, but from their collective memories, the following political portrait of Homer Clark emerges.

In politics, as in every sphere of his life, Clark was quietly effective. In a group he would sit silently and listen. If his turn came to speak—but only if his turn came—he would make a brief statement. Everyone would nod his head, and the meeting would be over. He was never in evidence. Banging the table or making speeches was not his style.

The amount of money he poured into campaigns from his own purse will never be known, but it was substantial.

He worked with state legislators and U. S. congressmen to draft bills he was interested in seeing passed. Legislators appreciated his keen interest and made themselves available to talk to him and fill him in on progress in the legislature. For more than fifty years he knew almost every key legislator in Minnesota.

Clark had the necessary aptitudes for making a good man behind the scenes: he knew a great many people; he knew how to raise money; his word was good and people trusted him implicitly; he had a depth of understanding far greater than most on legislative matters.

Former Minnesota Governor Elmer L. Andersen emphasizes how Clark always stayed in the background, and that, "in spite of all his work in politics, he was reluctant to seek anything from anyone in public affairs."

"I can't recall that Mr. Clark ever talked to me or wrote me about any legislation while I was a state senator or when I was governor. He seemed to have a great sense of Yankee rectitude." (This point was also made strongly by all others who knew him.)

Andersen told a story which illustrates Clark's high principles concerning privileges. "Shortly after Mr. Clark had helped elect Ed Devitt to Congress he planned a trip to Europe. His passport was being held up and he was getting a little nervous. He wrote Ed Devitt a letter saying that he hated to bother him—Mr. Clark was exceedingly restrained in asking anyone for help—but his passport was being held up in the State Department, he was getting nervous, and could Ed please see if he could expedite it. This Mr. Devitt did and he sent Mr. Clark a telegram saying that his passport was on its way. Some time later when Homer was in Washington, he called on Ed and said, 'Ed, you sent me a wire about my passport and I want to reimburse you for that,' and he began to get out the money to pay for that seventy-two-cent telegram. He didn't want to be in the position of having imposed on a friend. It's quite a change from the more prevalent idea that people who contribute to campaigns seek all kinds of special privileges."

Another anecdote in Andersen's memory file on the Ed Devitt campaign illustrates Homer Clark's ability to be flexible and listen to others. Recalls Andersen, "I was involved from the earliest stage in recruiting Devitt as the candidate in 1946 for Congress. We made financial commitments to him that were more substantial than had ever been expended in a Republican campaign in Minnesota. I visited with some of the leaders and with Homer Clark and all thought it was a lot of money. I tried to make the point that you could run a losing campaign real cheap, but if you wanted to win, you had to make commitments. Well, they [Homer and the others] made them and Ed Devitt was elected."

Elmer Andersen doesn't feel that Homer Clark was as conservative as people thought. "I think of him as being sound. The fact was that he never wanted to make a commitment he couldn't fulfill. Perhaps he entered into commitments more slowly than others, but he fulfilled them, whereas other people might abandon them as easily as they undertook them."

The late Julian Baird talked about the Republican party's concerns with the Elmer Benson regime. "When Elmer Benson was governor we were still in a deep Depression and the farmers were in a bad way. There were dust storms and sheriff's sales. It was very tough and so Benson came out with a program we Republicans considered very socialistic. If we were never going to pull out of the Depression, Benson's plan might have worked, but we had to pull out and have a free enterprise system again. This was what spurred Homer Clark, Fred Bigelow and me and other Republicans to get Benson out."

In his later years, one of the more interesting campaigns in which Clark became involved was that of Harold Stassen's bid for governor of Minnesota. Stassen remembers Clark's role in helping him become governor very well.

Recalled Stassen, "Mr. Clark did not advise me in my first—the primary—campaign, as the general business establishment was for Martin Nelson who had been the Republican nominee in 1936. In 1938, in the early stages, my support in the business field was pretty limited to Nelson Dayton, James Bennett, and some of the younger men like Al Lindley, Al Wertle, and others. It was not until after the primary, after I had won the nomination, that I came in contact extensively with the more established business leadership which included Homer P. Clark, who was then the dean of the leaders. There were many others—Julian Baird in St. Paul; John Crosby, the dean in Minneapolis, and many others. There were times when the business leadership of the Twin Cities would get together. From that time on I had quite a lot of contact with Homer Clark.

"We had a very strenuous primary, with Martin Nelson and George Leeks, then mayor of Minneapolis, who were

the other two candidates in the Republican primary. It was very much a matter of the new and younger approach versus the older approach. The same thing was true when it came to getting measures through the legislature after I was elected—there were at times differences of view between some of the older leaders of the legislature and our younger administration. The interesting thing is that while you would expect Homer Clark to be one of the 'Old Guard,' he was not. As a matter of fact, when we would meet with business leaders and talk things through, he generally would be one of those who would show what I considered to be a social conscience in relation to leadership in business and finance and would be ready to evaluate our proposals in the light of how they related to the well-being of all the people, the interests of the working people, and so forth.

"He had a sage approach. He was very farseeing and continued in his very advanced years to be recognized for his leadership. When there were divisions on what we ought to be doing in government, he would listen very attentively to our description of why we were proposing certain things and why we were advocating them, and seemed to be understanding of the proposal in relationship to the objectives. Historically, that 1939 legislative session probably had more far-reaching legislation than almost any other. For example, on the state's finances we developed what we called the state business-manager approach, which was the director of administration, and Mr. Clark showed an early recognition of the value of this requirement of a balanced budget and the establishment of a state business manager. Of course this proposal appealed to him as a businessman and he supported these efforts very much.

"He was always very alert to the measures we worked out on taxes; these were very important to him. The basic problem then was that during the Depression years, business had been taxed too heavily and was leaving the state. We devised a system that is still being used. The concept of how one put the objectives of a social and economic nature in line with your tax program always interested Mr. Clark, and he played a strong part in

business, saying, 'This young governor seems to be making sense; let's try to work it out with him instead of just simply battling about cutting tax rates and things like that.'

"When I was governor I would meet with the business leaders at the Minnesota Club and the Minneapolis Club and talk through what we were trying to do and why, get their viewpoint, and try to have them understand mine. In that process, Mr. Clark and Mr. John Crosby were, in my opinion, veritable giants of broad-gauged leadership. They would consider the different factors and not ever try to dictate what should be done—that was foreign to anything they would ever try to do. Of course, it could be that he recognized from the beginning that I wasn't one who would take dictation.

"Interestingly, Mr. Clark was not at all what I would call a narrow partisan from a party standpoint. If I remember correctly, he would have supported a Democrat if the candidate met his standards.

"He had a deep concern about unemployment, about the Depression, and about the consequences of the Depression. I would advise what we had to do on the budget for people who were poor, and I never heard Mr. Clark dissent on that.

"Mr. Clark was reserved, but not what you would call shy; I don't think he would have hesitated to go before a legislative committee and make his views known. He never expected that everyone would agree with every one of his views, however."

After Harold Stassen was elected governor of Minnesota in 1937, Homer Clark worked long hours on the new governor's labor law commission. Clark's daughter Catherine remembers that "Whenever Dad was late for dinner, we children would ask him if he had been up at the capitol again, working on the labor law, and the answer would always be 'yes.'" The law which was enacted and made Stassen nationally famous, forced a "cooling off" period before a strike could be called. A landmark in labor legislation, the law was copied by other states and some of its provisions incorporated into federal statutes.

Another business associate of Homer Clark, Archie B. Jackson of the St. Paul Companies, succinctly summarizes Clark's guiding philosophies in the game of politics: "A person is most influential when he, or she, works behind the scene." "Get a good man to run, elect him, and then leave him alone." "Use a soft-sell approach."

Harold Stassen and others point out that Homer Clark and John Crosby had much in common when it came to leadership. Both were decisive in their actions and were listened to by other businessmen. Said Stassen: "When you had a conference of business leadership and a certain amount of discordance developed, it was John Crosby and Homer Clark who were listened to when they spoke up in their respective communities."

When Wendell Wilkie came to St. Paul during the 1940 presidential campaign, Homer Clark was among the selected Republican leaders asked to go to Chicago and ride back to the Twin Cities on the train with Wilkie. When Stassen came through the train to introduce the leaders, he said to Wilkie about Clark, "There is nobody who did more to get me elected in Minnesota than Homer Clark."

Perhaps Homer Clark's proudest moment concerning politics was in 1928 when he was asked to serve on the Republican National Committee. The offer was made on behalf of the committee by Melvin J. Maas, Minnesota's fourth district congressman, after Senator Brooks announced to the Minnesota Republicans that he would not be a candidate to succeed himself as national committeeman.

Wrote Congressman Maas:

> . . . There is just one man in the State of Minnesota that I believe should be his [Brooks's] successor. You are in a position where you can afford to do this. You have the time and you do not want anything for yourself. I believe you can render a great service to the State of Minnesota and to the country at large if you would serve as National Committeeman. I am sure you would have the confidence of the Republicans of Minnesota as well as . . . of the country. I know that

you are not seeking this position but I hope that you . . . will accept it.[3]

In keeping with his policy of remaining out of the public eye, Homer Clark declined this honor, but there is no question that it was one of the proudest moments in the life of "Mr. St. Paul," member of the BBC.

Closely associated with his work in politics was Homer Clark's continuous interest in keeping his beloved city of St. Paul free from criminal influences. While he recognized that no city could be kept totally free of crime, he felt that assiduous civic effort could keep dishonesty and corruption to a minimum, and undesirable influences out of the city. And until the 1920s, St. Paul was a relatively safe city in which to live. With the advent of Prohibition, however—and later, after the repeal of that ill-fated law—the climate of the city was to change drastically. Bootlegging triggered a host of undesirable activities in St. Paul and brought in many criminal figures who, due to an incredible protection scheme offered them by the St. Paul police department, turned the city into a dangerous place to live.

St. Paul's dark decade from 1925 to 1935 came about this way: during the early days of Prohibition in the 1920s, many criminal elements moved into St. Paul to carry on illicit liquor trade. Instead of attempting to eradicate this element, St. Paul's chief of police, John J. O'Connor, spread the word through the underworld that its members would not be bothered as long as they did not commit any crimes in the city.[4] This incredible move of protection became known as the "O'Connor System," and eventually gave St. Paul its darkest hour. Many city administrative and civic leaders apparently supported the system.

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3. Letter from Congressman Melvin J. Maas, fourth district, Minnesota, dated March 15, 1928, to Homer P. Clark.

4. Virginia Brainard Kunz, *St. Paul, Saga of an American City* (Woodland Hills, California: Windsor Publications, Inc., 1977).

Crime syndicates gradually increased in St. Paul, and before long, gang warfare erupted, murders were common, and violence the order of the day. The physical safety of the people of St. Paul was constantly in jeopardy as organized crime strengthened its stranglehold on the city. Criminals enjoyed unheard of freedom in the city, caroused in its night spots, and took over some of its best housing facilities.

After Prohibition was repealed and bootlegging was no longer profitable, the gangs turned to bank robbery and kidnapping, first in cities and communities throughout the Midwest, outside of St. Paul, then in St. Paul itself. Two of the more powerful and notorious gangs were the Barker-Karpis gang and the John Dillinger gang. It was obvious that the O'Connor system had completely broken down when, over a period of two years, Haskell Bohn, son of Gerhard Bohn, founder of Bohn Refrigeration Company, and later William Hamm, Jr., St. Paul brewer, and baker Edward Bremer were kidnapped and held for ransom. St. Paul's prominent and wealthy families were now all in great danger.

Homer Clark was one of many of St. Paul's citizens who were greatly disturbed over the situation, and who worked day and night behind the scenes—in great secrecy, for obvious reasons—to clean up the city. No record of Clark's efforts exists; he was not a member of officially appointed crime commissions, but business associates still living confirm his fight against crime.

Public efforts by others, of course, were being made in the 1930s to exterminate crime and abolish the O'Connor system, but much of this effort was futile because of the city's unwillingness to admit the situation was out of hand.

Clark's daughters, who were in grade school during these troubled years, have vivid memories of the fear of someone in their family being kidnapped because their home at 534 Summit Avenue was close to gangster hideouts, and the hoodlums were undoubtedly aware of their father's efforts to stamp out crime and corruption.

Helen MacGregor recalls her father's role in cleaning up the city: "I don't know what the source was, but

Dad learned that in order to discourage hoodlumism in St. Paul, the gambling spots and other activities in which the underworld would be interested would have to be shut down." She believes that his source was New York authorities.

Catherine Kroeger also describes this period in St. Paul: "They got together a group of men who were really concerned. In Minneapolis, it was so bad that the businessmen would meet in a certain place and motor together out to Minnetonka to make plans.

"In St. Paul, the Dillinger crowd had a hide-out over the Hamms' garage. They had a view into our yard and the yards of several other families. It seemed obvious that they were trying to kidnap somebody, but the Hamms found the hide-out.

"One of [Dad's] friends was driving out to the Somerset Club and he noticed a man in a white Palm Beach suit driving behind him. When he got to the club, he saw the man beside him. He said, 'I will park your car for you.' But Dad's friend said he could do that for himself, and he drove the car up to the parking lot. The man followed him, but some other people came along and he disappeared. A day or two later a picture of Dillinger appeared in the paper and he realized this had been Dillinger himself. The car Dad's friend had been driving was new, and apparently he wanted a new car.

"But this was more than anyone cared to live with and they decided they had to do something about it. They realized that to be attracting this much crime something was wrong with the police. So they planted a private detective on the police force. They also realized they were going to have to have legislative action to get the gambling out of St. Paul—that as long as the city was a haven for gamblers, it was going to attract crime. I know the men went around to raise money.

"I think this group hung a microphone in the police chief's office. Dad said it was hung from the ceiling. But anyway they heard him making a deal with some of the criminals, and they also had their private detective on the force, so were able to clean up the city

government. St. Paul no longer was so attractive to big-time gangsters. I think Dad wanted to attract as little attention to himself in this as possible because he didn't care for reprisals any more than anyone else did. This probably was a pretty secret group, but they were men with a sense of responsibility."

Helen MacGregor describes her father's own attitude toward responsibility: "Dad believed that people should take responsibility for themselves to the greatest degree possible but that people who were less fortunate should have help. I remember that one man said he felt that Homer Clark of St. Paul had been the greatest moral force for the accomplishment of good in the Midwest."

CHAPTER NINE

The World of Brewster: The Captain Isaac Clark House

THE CAPTAIN ISAAC CLARK house in Brewster was a diamond in the rough when Homer Clark purchased it in 1905 from a relative, Mary E. Baker. When he finished restoring it to his satisfaction, the ancestral home was a polished colonial jewel, a priceless gem in its historically rich Cape Cod setting.

Homer Clark's acquisition of Isaac Clark's house pleased many: his New England and St. Paul relatives were grateful that the property was being kept in the Clark family; the townspeople of Brewster were pleased because of the continued preservation of the home of one of its well-loved sea captains.

Just as Captain Clark had carried the atmosphere of his ship into the architecture and interior furnish-

ings of the house when he built it in 1799, Homer Clark created an authentic colonial atmosphere in the house through careful selection of antique furniture for its many rooms and setting off the furniture with appropriate wallpaper and draperies. The refurbishing process was a labor of love that took Clark many years.

The former owner, Mary E. Baker, was especially happy because Homer Clark was able to do much for the house that she had been unable to do. She had given Clark as many family antiques as she could afford, apologizing for not leaving more. "I feel mean to leave you so little of value," she wrote after the sale of the house was completed. "I wish I could afford to give it all to you," she said.

"I'm glad you all were happy in the old home," Mrs. Baker was to write later, after Homer Clark had entertained his first guests at Brewster. "I hope you will enjoy it as much as I have in the years it has been in my possession. It was hard to give it up but now I've seen and enjoyed you, I am (with my family) glad that I can leave it with you."

It was with utmost care that Clark went about repairing, decorating, and furnishing the Isaac Clark house. Fences were mended, locks made, and trees pruned his first summer of ownership in 1906. Although extremely busy with West Publishing and American Law Book Company business, Clark managed to sandwich in some shopping in Boston for wallpaper, curtains, kitchen supplies, and sundries. His mother and father joined him at Brewster to help him. Charles Clark handled real estate details; arranged for insurance; bought tools, a lantern, an oil stove, a stepladder, and "kitchen things." Martha Clark hired a handyman and other staff to carry out indoor and outdoor chores.

Along with his help, Charles Clark gave his son a measure of fatherly advice: "When you leave [Brewster], pack blankets and other wool things in napthalene packages. I found moth worms in both your suits in the closet." And aware that his son was not exactly the handyman type, but convinced that even Homer should

be able to at least fix dripping faucets, he wrote, "Margaret can show you how to cut off the water, unscrew the faucet (with wrench) and unscrew (with screwdriver) to get off the old washer. If a drip is long continued it will wear the seat of the faucet and necessitate a new faucet." Charles Clark, of course, was experienced in fixing almost any household gadget because of his real estate work in St. Paul.

Homer Clark's father and mother wrote him later that they hoped to visit Brewster another year for they had become "very interested in cranberries." The Brewster purchase had included the Isaac Clark house, lot, orchard, land to the lower road (except for a strip belonging to John H. Clark), and a cranberry bog behind the house by "Dollar Pond." In April, 1906, Homer Clark purchased the John Clark property, and thus acquired more cranberry bog and pasture land. When completing the deal with the new owner, John Clark wrote, "The man who lives next door to Mr. Foster's has pastured his cow on my land for some years and I promised him this spring he could pasture his cow this season. I feel as though I ought to keep my promise to him." Fully aware of the principles at stake in this New Englander's promise, Homer Clark honored this request.

Long a lover of antiques, Clark in 1906 began his search for nineteenth century furniture for Captain Clark's house. This search was to continue for many years while he shopped at I. Sack of Boston; Carroll Lewis Antique Company of Hyannis; the B. M. & T. Jenkins, Ltd. firm of Montreal, Canada; and at other dealers. Piece by piece he collected Hepplewhite, Windsor, Sheraton, Adam, Chippendale, and Queen Anne pieces. Over a period of twenty-five years he purchased chairs, clocks, bureaus, chaises, highboys and lowboys, beds, tables, mirrors, chests, sofas, rockers, wash stands, card tables, a sideboard, a knife box, cabinets, and cupboards.

Carefully the decor was worked out for the seven bedrooms, the dining room, the large upstairs and downstairs halls, the kitchen, and staff quarters. On July

9, 1906, after spending the Fourth of July at Brewster, he wrote his parents:

The house looked even better than I expected, the papers being more satisfactory, and the green floors turned out much better than I had expected. The North East and North West rooms upstairs were ready for occupancy, but the rest of the house was essentially empty. With the aid of Mr. and Mrs. Foster I went to work in the dining room first, putting in the furniture and the rug which you . . . had sent down from Boston. The green and peacock blue in it went well with the walls and the room is really very effective. I put the six spindle back chairs only in it, and they look remarkably well.

The big room was next and we put the Crex rug [with] the red stripe in it in the part of the room between the hall and the dining room, and I am trying to get a Crex rug to match to go in front of the fireplace where, temporarily, I have used three of the rugs made from old carpets.

The ceiling paper in the South East room . . . is very unique. In this room we put the white stripe 9 x 12 Crex rug, and the good old-fashioned chairs left by Mrs. Baker and belonging to various people, also the folding table belonging to Nathan Sears. The remarkably good table which you bought I am using in the big room, also the sofa which I am very much pleased with. The little old sofa with the back is also in the big room, and the coverings on these, while they are not up to standard, do not clash with the coloring. The big room as a hall is very effective, and the open stairway adds. Much to my surprise, it is really a very light room now.

The foliage paper in the North East room is one of the best papers I have ever seen, and the new window there is a decided improvement. So far, I have only put the card table and the small flat sofa in this room. I bought a cover for this sofa in Boston . . . dark green . . . in the nature of burlap . . .. The hall is wonderfully good, but you saw that paper . . . before you left. The South West room I have done nothing with and shall not touch for the present, but the paper is just as good as we expected it to be. Altogether, I think I have never seen better papers than those downstairs.

The two front chamber papers are all right but not particularly good. The green lines ought to have the border of pink roses to bring it out, and the poppy paper would be better if the background were nearly white. Altogether I am glad we

used as striking papers as we did, and also that we used the white hall paper, as the effect around the hall is particularly good.

Homer Clark modernized the house to the extent of putting in a bathroom, but electricity was not installed until 1927. As soon as guests could be comfortably accommodated, the gregarious Clark began inviting relatives and friends to Brewster. He made sure that one of his first guests was Mary Baker, and after her visit she wrote, "Our lovely visit. . . . in the old old home has left a most delightful memory. You are the genial host and made my heart glad . . . by all the improvements. Your love of the home is lovely. I just hope there is much happiness in store for you there and sometime in the near future you will bring to the home one who has all the qualities necessary for the making of a home and your happiness." (Friends were always playing matchmaker for Clark.)

Mrs. Baker's wish was to come true soon, however, though no one could have predicted it at the time. In 1910 Homer Clark brought his bride Elizabeth Dunsmoor Clark to Brewster on their return from a European honeymoon. As much a lover of antiques as her husband, she was delighted with the Isaac Clark house. She did suggest, however, that the exterior be painted white instead of the yellow he had chosen, and it has been white ever since.

In the spring of 1907 Martha Clark returned to Brewster to help her son again, this time hiring a Mrs. Washburn as cook, a man with a horse for chores, and a second girl. A telephone was installed. Much repair work had to be done in 1907, when a severe Cape Cod storm had damaged the property.

Stocking the larder was a task Homer Clark undertook personally, ordering many items from S. S. Pierce Co., Importers and Grocers, Boston. A typical grocery list for his Brewster home included Ceylon tea, Java coffee, Cream of Wheat, buckwheat, head rice, Sea Moss farina, prunes, cheese, olives, macaroni, spaghetti, peas,

Chow Chow (mixed pickles), Putz Pomade (perfumed ointment for hair), crystallized ginger, and Yaritu castile soap. (All this and much more for $37.66.)

Anxious to entertain his St. Paul friends at Brewster, Clark invited several of them for a house party scheduled for the last week of August, 1907. This party, described in Chapter 5, turned out to have guests but no host. Homer Clark's father fell ill in August and the son remained in St. Paul to be near him. Charles Clark died while the guests were still at Cape Cod.[1] Mrs. Washburn, the cook, took good care of the guests who naturally were saddened by Homer Clark's loss.

For more than thirty years, Clark was to relax and entertain friends and relatives at Brewster, and he always kept the house open at least until October. His wife and children enjoyed the beauties of Cape Cod whenever they wished; the children often went there on weekends during their college years in the East, and sailed the *Zephyress* and the *Zodiac*. In his later years when he could go no longer, Clark worried about the possibility of fire and felt that although the house should be kept up, no one should live in it. His wishes were respected by his family and their families.

In 1966, the Clark family, on behalf of their father, asked Nickerson Memorials, Inc., of Orleans, Massachusetts, to make a sign for the Captain Isaac Clark house, to read as follows:

Captain Isaac Clark House

1799

Here in 1802 met the petitioners for the separation of Brewster from the town of Harwich after the granting of the incor-

1. After Charles Clark's death in 1907, his real estate business was taken over by Edward C. Dougan, a St. Paul relative. In partial payment for his services in closing the estate, Dougan took the office furniture worth $133.50. Dougan continued to occupy 416 National German-American Bank Building for some years, where he carried on a real estate loan, rental, and fire insurance business.

poration of Brewster by the General Court of Massachusetts, February 19, 1803. Isaac Clark was unanimously elected the town's first Representative to that body. Captain Clark was the first American sea captain to fly the new American flag into the White Sea in Russia. From Archangel he brought the timber for this house

Private Dwelling
Not Open to the Public
The Brewster Historical Society, Inc.

CHAPTER TEN

The World of Travel

A BRIGHT AND COLORFUL thread in the fabric of Homer P. Clark's life was his extensive traveling. The joy it brought him never diminished no matter how often he visited a city or country, or how old he became. He was still traveling alone at age ninety.

Visiting foreign countries diverted his mind from business problems, expanded his horizons, stimulated his studious mind. When traveling, he could observe foreign economic systems and compare them with that of the United States, could make new contacts, and new friends. Most important, traveling gave Homer Clark the chance to walk leisurely through past ages, absorbing the flavor of how people lived in times past. The chance to see the antiquities of a country or city was

the pièce de résistance of every trip. With each experience, history became just a little more vivid to him.

Throughout his many years of traveling, most modernization projects in Europe saddened him a little; a tinge of this sadness shadowed any letter home where he reported that "such and such" a place was showing the ravages of progress. This did not mean that he could not tolerate progress; he favored it unless a bit of history was being destroyed forever.

Europe was Homer Clark's favorite study ground, although he traveled elsewhere frequently, often with members of his family. He returned to Europe, however,—and especially to Rome—at every chance. As late as his seventy-ninth year he was traveling in Europe. This was his last trip. His daughter Catherine accompanied him.

Why was Rome his favorite city? Because of his fascination with the Roman system of law in the Roman Empire, his family surmises. To Homer Clark the laws developed by these early Romans were logical and coherent, carefully thought through and built up systematically, unlike English common law, which grew in haphazard fashion, with a "decision here and a decision there," and no one place where a person could look up the law.

"He felt that people in the Roman Empire knew where they stood in reference to the laws," said his daughter Helen in analyzing her father's respect for the Roman system.

Over the years Homer Clark bought innumerable books on Roman law, economics, and military strategies and studied them carefully; he read Roman history acquisitively. He always said that when he visited Rome he felt the presence of the ancients as he walked around the ruins.

This fascination for law, of course, explains in part why he stayed with West Publishing Company all of his life. By working at West he was able to systematize a portion of the common law system through his work on the codification of United States laws (previously dis-

cussed under "United States Code" in the chapter on West Publishing Company).

"His love for orderliness and his ability to find cases and decisions explains why his work on the United States Code in 1926 was such an important project to him," explains his family. "The project meant getting it all together in one place where decisions could be at any lawyer's fingertips."

Clark's love affair with Europe perhaps began in 1884 when at age sixteen he spent seven months with his family in Germany and other countries so his father could regain his health. Homer Clark had heard much about Europe from his mother, Martha Clark, and from his grandmother, Hannah Pierce, both of whom had seen the treasures of the Continent and of the British Isles.

During that winter of 1884–1885 the Clarks explored many European countries, using Germany as their home base. While in Europe, Martha Clark exposed her son and daughter to every possible cultural and educational situation she could manage, giving them a chance to learn first hand about their English ancestry and about Anglo-Saxon history.

Homer Clark recalled in later years that he had had "a perfectly grand time in Europe, especially bicycling (called wheeling in 1884) around Munich, visiting museums, and taking in other cultural offerings." He and his sister, Mary, shopped; visited museums, libraries, and zoos; rode ferry boats; went to the theater; rode parlor cars in Europe's swift and comfortable trains; and dined often in fine restaurants.

Clark's father, whether from habit or by request of Martha Clark in her effort to keep his mind occupied, kept a daily diary of expenses and trips, making the activities of the family easy to chronicle.

In years to come, Homer Clark was to retrace that winter's steps often, keeping bright his memories of German castles, trips up the Rhine, the shops and museums.

From Charles Clark's diary it would appear that in Germany the family hired a cook and rented housekeep-

ing quarters for their entourage, which included Charles, Martha, Homer, Mary, Aunt Anna Clark, and a maid. Typical daily entries present an interesting picture of costs in Europe in 1884 and 1885:

haircut for Homer	50 cents
30 pieces of coal for fire in Homer's room	45 cents
chamois gloves for Homer	3.00
butter	35 cents
milk	9 cents
lemons	10 cents
eggs	18 cents
meat	75 cents
apple	3 cents
lard	10 cents
cabbage	5 cents
licorice	10 cents
spirit [alcohol solution]	35 cents

Homer and Mary each received one dollar a week—a quite generous sum for the times. Umbrellas had to be rented often (ten cents). Laundry was a major item, running into several dollars a week. The cost of lodging and services varied from city to city. In Germany, Martha brought in a dressmaker for several weeks, and for some reason, a piano was rented for a short time. The fee for a "boy" to carry luggage to the trains or ferries was fifty cents a time. Museum tour fees were fifty cents. Raspberry jam cost $1.25 a jar, an indication that it was undoubtedly a luxury in Europe at the time. The cost of riding the public horse-driven cars was eighty cents for the entire family. In Venice, gondoliers charged the Clarks 1.67 lira for a boat trip; chamber maids were tipped fifty cents. The family bought porcelain at Meissen on the Elbe River, including six compote dishes at seventy cents apiece.

Charles Clark not only kept a record of costs in his diary but also had a habit of writing himself little notes which indicated his feelings about Europe. For ex-

ample, at the end of the trip he penciled this note: "I don't believe I want to entertain the idea of going to Europe. European life as far as I have seen it is not agreeable. I should not want my children to complete their education there away from St. Paul."

As far as anyone knows, Homer Clark did not travel to Europe again for ten years—years in which he was enjoying his bachelor days in St. Paul and working his way up from production superintendent to treasurer of West Publishing Company. By 1904, however, labor troubles and production problems had brought him to the verge of exhaustion, and his family felt a trip abroad would refresh him. He sailed to Europe with his aunt, Helen Pierce Canterbury, and cousin, Gertrude Canterbury, on the S.S. *Republic*. They embarked from Boston on Saturday, March 26, 1904, the itinerary for this steamship taking them from Boston to the Azores, Gibraltar, Marseilles, Genoa, Naples, and Alexandria. The young West executive was not to get a complete mental rest from business on the trip, however, because his superior, Charles Ames, wrote him almost daily about conditions on the labor front, including news of the strike against West Publishing. Homer Clark kept in touch with Charles Ames, and passed on suggestions to help the firm. The three-month trip did refresh him, however, and gave him a chance not only to renew memories of his 1884–1885 visit but to see new sights, including Constantinople where he stayed at the Pera Palace. In Paris, he lived at the Hotel des Saints Peres, Rue des Saints-Peres, which boasted electric lighting and telephones, unusual amenities for that era.

In his many travels, Clark always went first class, but carefully evaluated the service and accommodations to be sure they were worth the price. If he felt they were not, he would sit down and write any relatives in Boston or St. Paul who might be planning to travel, warning them that things were "not as good as usual."

On the 1904 trip, Homer Clark parted company with his aunt and cousin after they left the S.S. *Republic*, Helen and Gertrude settling in the Villa Miravalle for

the winter, Clark continuing to travel. A little later his cousin Gertrude wrote, "Do feel so glad you consider your trip a success. We certainly enjoyed being with you and miss you more than we can say. You have certainly been a perfect brick and I can only tell you again how very much we appreciated . . . your steady, even disposition and good company. You are an old dear and I wish I could tell some nice girl so. If you are half as glad as I am that we all took the trip together on the S.S. *Republic* to the finish I shall be glad indeed."

For the most part, Clark's (and his family's) itinerary to any country followed a fairly standard tourist pattern, though occasional side trips with friends were arranged. (Kimball Clark, on a 1938 trip with his father, was to complain in a letter home, "most everyone is going to the same place at the same time.")

Traveling alone did not bother Homer Clark, and fortunately so, for his wife's problems with seasickness finally forced her to give up any trip that required crossing the water. Between 1910 and 1934 she did accompany him to Europe, to the Orient, and to the West Indies. She made sure, however, that he felt free to go without her, even "ordering" him to take a trip when business pressures became too great. "Off you go to Rome," she would say cheerfully. Clark much preferred to have her along, however, because he loved her and because she was a charming and witty companion. But he was usually able to find compatible traveling companions on shipboard and he knew enough people in Europe to find company for sightseeing, golfing, and dining. However, if his shipboard companions were "uninteresting" (as he once expressed the situation to Bessie), he made sure he spent little time with them.

Traveling first class on the steamships of the early 1900s was apt to put Homer Clark in the company of nobility from some country or other—dukes, duchesses, counts, barons, and so forth—a situation he enjoyed and reported on to his family. He found much to discuss with shipboard acquaintances—world affairs, economics, history, tourist attractions. Realizing that the op-

portunity to talk with a particular traveler might not come his way again, Clark made sure he learned all he could from them.

For many people night life was a major attraction in London, Paris, Rome, and other cities; it was not for Homer or Bessie Clark, although they enjoyed an occasional opera or concert. If someone did persuade Clark to take in a night club act or show he usually reported home, "It was nothing wonderful."

One thing that disturbed Clark when traveling was not being able to find his favorite Cuban cigar, his constant companion. Fortunately first-class hotels usually carried them.

Writing letters to his family was not his favorite occupation, but when abroad Clark dutifully tried to give the family the benefit of his traveling experiences. He also tried (sincerely but not too subtly and quite didactically) to motivate his children to learn languages and history so that they would enjoy traveling even more. His letters were prosaic, but clear and accurate in their descriptions. Once in awhile he might be moved to write eloquent or colorful descriptions, but not often. The flavor of Clark's European travels is learned best from his letters to his wife or his children, and from the Clark children's letters to their mother when traveling with their father, portions of which follow.

From the Grand Hotel in Naples, while traveling alone in Europe he wrote his mother on April 12, 1904:

Dear Mother:

Today I went up Vesuvius with a friend. Tomorrow morning we go to Pompeii and drive from there to Sorrento, to Corfou [now Corfu], Amalfi, LaCava, Paestum [the site of imposing ruins of three Greek temples and a Roman amphitheater], back to Naples, and then to Rome. It is great here and I hate to leave the vicinity. Expect to stay in Rome a week. Luckily Vesuvius was entirely clear when we went up today and the view was magnificent. I don't wonder you wanted to spend weeks here.

On May 9, 1904, from the Pera-Palace Hotel in Constantinople, Homer Clark wrote his father:

We arrived yesterday afternoon, having spent the previous afternoon in Smyrna, . . . in getting through quarantine. As our boat hailed from Egypt they were exceedingly thorough, there being plague in the interior now, and took all the steerage ashore . . . where they spent a couple of hours examining them. Meantime they . . . fumigated and washed the whole boat with disinfectant. I was mighty glad when they gave us a clean bill. I did not suppose Turks would be so thorough.

Smyrna was very interesting, especially the bazaars where the streets are roofed over and as they are exceedingly dirty the smell is awful and we were glad to get away though it was full of unusual sights in the way of camels, caravans, etc.

Constantinople would be as bad were it not for the thousands of dogs who act as scavengers. They sleep on the sidewalks during the daytime while pedestrians step over them, and swarm the streets and howl at night.

Our steamer was not nearly as bad as we feared but the passengers were a motley throng . . . no Americans or English until Smyrna . . . . We saw quite a little of some Saxons from Dresden, including a man who is in the cabinet of the King of Saxony. The rest of the first cabin was made up of Turks, Greeks, Levantines, etc. One part[y] of 18 in the first cabin was the chief wife, harem and attendants of the Turkish Ambassador to Egypt.

After his first view of Athens, while on his honeymoon, Clark wrote his mother in March, 1910:

Athens is a nice modern as well as an interesting and beautiful old city. Looking down from the Acropolis we could not see any smoke issuing from the chimneys so you can imagine how white it seemed in the sunlight as all the buildings are white or very light shades.

European newspapers are having quite a time over the Grecian political situation but there is no evidence of it here. As an English professor who had lived in Greece . . . having charge of the excavations at Sparta, said in the steamer,

"When you are living in Greece you usually have to read the *London Times* to ascertain whether there is a dangerous political crisis in Greece."

The Grand Duke Cyril of Russia was in the steamer from Sicily and as there was a Russian Man of War awaiting him here, there was lots of excitement and gay uniforms to meet him.

On Homer and Bessie Clark's trip on their honeymoon in 1910 to Corinth, Delphi, and Olympia, he reported "exceedingly enjoyable artistic and historical interest and wonderfully fine scenery as a bonus . . . . We traveled . . . with a German professor who had charge of the excavations at Olympia and Bessie drew him out so thoroughly on both archaic and modern Greece that we ought to be quite learned on the subject." Homer Clark felt Praxiteles' Hermes, which his mother had admired on her trips, "certainly the most pleasing . . . sculpture I have seen." The professor explained that the sculpture stood in a building and was covered with clay very soon after falling, thus its finish was preserved.

The Clarks stayed at the Grand Hotel D'Angleterre et Belle Venise in Corfou while on their honeymoon. On a small boat from Corfou to Cattano they met a party of Austrian nobility—one prince, one count, and several barons and baronesses. "We had a very social and informal time. Some spoke English, so with Bessie's and my little German and her seemingly fluent French, we managed . . . beautifully."

Of Montenegro, Clark wrote his mother, "Do you remember the gorgeous costume of the prince in 'The Merry Widow?' Well, that is the ordinary costume of the men here so you can imagine this place makes up in the people for its appallingly somber surroundings." The Grand Hotel at Montenegro was the best they had had, he said, because it "had a stove and enough light to write by."

In 1921, traveling alone to Europe, Clark wrote to Bessie from the *Empress of France* while still in the

harbor at Quebec, "It was certainly dear of you to urge my going so strongly and I know what it meant to you." (He sent flowers from Canada.)

Quite a few Chinese on board who have told me much about the famine situation in China. It is bad but they blame the Chinese officials who will not even let the donated food go forward without being paid their usual graft.

I have taken your advice and dropped my problems . . .

After crossing the English Channel to Paris, he wrote Bessie on June 6, 1921, from his hotel, Palais D'Orsay:

. . . Saturday morning I came over via Calais-Dover . . same old sidewheel boats with miserable accommodations and lots of people sick . . . We were the usual extra half hour in getting across . . ..

. . . I went to the Cafe de Paris for dinner . . . good as ever . . . .. Paris is as expensive as New York, . . . 50 francs a day for a room and bath with nothing but a washstand . . .. However, the room is quite elegant even though it is only 10 x 13. Food is also expensive a la carte. Dinner here is 16 francs, at Continental 20 . . ..

Olds reports things badly torn up in Eastern Europe and they are fighting over all the new boundaries . . .. The Polish situation is bad. The Greek government cannot take care of the few Russian refugees in Athens . . ..

Between the coal strike, ship stewards' and cotton workers' strike there are 4,000,000 people out of work in England but fortunately no rioting yet.

In Italy the telephone and telegraph and postal workers are all on strike to make the government raise their wages . . ..

The French seem to be working the best and things look all right here with the boulevards just as fascinating as ever. Sat outside the Cafe de Paris for over an hour last evening with a man from Detroit watching the throng go by . . ..

An auto trip through the battlefields of World War I fascinated Clark. On June 9, 1921, he wrote Bessie:

We are spending the night in a small hotel (Rheims) rebuilt in the midst of desolation. I have never seen anything like it unless it were Frisco after the earthquake and fire. They are hard at work rebuilding but there is so very much to do. A city of 120,000 people and only sixty habitable houses left.

The day has been most interesting—Meaux, Belleau Wood, Chateau Thierry, and finally Rheims with an English officer explaining. We followed for miles along the Mairre in a most beautiful country. The French certainly are working—plumbers, electricians and painters still at work at 8:10 this evening . . . so different from home.

And on June 13:

Well, I will go back to the story where I left it at Rheims . . .. Leaving there in the morning our road followed right along the trenches until we reached Berry-an-Bac & there we dismounted and went up on the famous Hill 108 where there was steady hard fighting for 2 years. It is all blown to pieces with shells and [there are] enormous mine craters. Then we went into the French and German dugouts . . . Through this region the barbed wire is still in position & the land has not been reclaimed as the trenches are still there . . . [Then] we went up on the California Plateau. Another hard fought for position & a wonderful view over the plains. This was where the Kaiser & Crown Prince went to see the grand advance . . ..

The whole gives me a much clearer idea about the war so was most interesting . . ..

Went to see the show at the Casino de Paris. Nothing wonderful . . .. Expenses running about $20 a day.

In that same June 13 letter, Clark wrote,

Things look prosperous on the surface here, the only evidence of poverty I have seen so far was lack of tights on the chorus girls, except the top paid ones [a typical Homer Clark witticism].

Commenting on a train ride out of Paris,

The Germans certainly ripped things to pieces in their retreat to the Hindenburg line. Not a railway station left, houses burned and I saw a good many fruit trees cut down, some still growing in that condition. I don't understand how they can grow.

This morning renewed acquaintance with the Louvre and it was a joy to get among those great paintings once more. There is certainly a fascination in Paris and it is beginning to get into my bones.

June 24, 1921, from London:

Visited friends in London—they have a delightful old rambling stone house with fine grounds and gardens. It made my mouth water to see the furniture. Just the secretary you want and also the corner cupboard, and you should see the clocks and chairs.

In 1938, Homer Clark took his sons, Robert and Kimball (called Kim), along with a friend, Robert Mairs, to Europe on the *Queen Mary*. Kim's reactions to his father's favorite spots in Rome are reflected in this letter:

We got to Rome just a little while ago. We have seen all sorts of junk. This hotel is alright but it is like all the other buildings in Italy, made with some poor looking stone. We went into Pompeii and Herculaneum and we all liked Herculaneum better. They had much more beside just the building in Herculaneum. They had a lot of junk in Pompeii that said 350 B.C. or other times, but we did not know whether it was real or not.

I never can understand what they are talking about when they try to tell us what there is to eat, and nobody else can understand them either. You should see our Ford when you are parked in the street [Ford V–8]. It looks like a big car because the other cars are so small. The people take their

time when they get out in front of the car so we have a hard time getting anywhere.

And Robert's reactions:

We're having a swell time over here. It is very interesting except the museums but we are trying to set a definite time limit on Dad for each one and it is working pretty well.

Dad, Bob Mairs and I eat Italian food with a relish while Kim claims it isn't even fit for pigs and insists on coming back to the hotel and eating "American" food.

No speed limit anywhere in Italy but Dad makes us go pretty slowly. He nearly has fits in the cities though. You pass people to the right, left turn around the middle of blocks and do most anything you want, all at a high rate of speed with cars about the size of Austins popping out from under your bumpers. Dad usually sits in the back seat and we can't tell whether he is alternatively holding his breath and relaxing or praying or what. Much fun for everyone except Dad. He won't drive in the cities, incidentally.

On a 1934 trip to Rome, Homer Clark wrote his son Kimball, on October 29:

Tomorrow I am hoping for a letter telling me about your Blake game and hope you were over your stomach trouble so you could play . . . I have just received yesterday's *Paris Herald* saying that Minnesota beat Iowa by a big score.

This morning I spent an hour in Hadrian's tomb . . . how you would have enjoyed seeing the guns but especially what they used before they had guns. There were crossbows, pikes, all sorts of swords. A machine with a steel bow 12 to 14 feet long which had to be pulled back with a windlass and shot an iron arrow 7 or 8 feet long. The string of the bow was bigger than the mainsheet of the *Zephyress.* [Clark sailboat] Then there was a machine for throwing stones as big as my head.

On top some of the Popes had built a palace in which they could live in times of trouble and they had a covered bridge from the Vatican so they could go there without anyone know-

ing about it. Ask Mother to read you about it from Baedeker. There was and still is a moat all around it . . . there were many battles about it. The walls of the oldest part are about 40 feet thick. Am sending a picture of it and the bridge Hadrian built 1800 years ago.

In November, 1934, on the same trip, Clark wrote his daughter Betty from Rome:

. . . This morning I went to see the new excavations which uncovered part of the "Golden House" of Nero. It was called that because the central room had a floor of gold and ceiling of ivory, in which was a round hole in the middle to give light and air. But Nero's bedroom had no window or even hole. It was a grand room even if it seemed to us like a cave. His bed was in an alcove . . . some of the wall decorations are still intact. . . . originally it was a mile long and had twenty-eight hundred rooms. It could not have been a comfortable place to live. Ask Mrs. Dinsmoor to read to you about Nero. . . .

. . . The doctors from all over Italy are here today and Mussolini is addressing them this afternoon.

Ask Bob to look in the Worlds Almanac to see if the *Paris Herald* is right . . . that the *Conte de Savoia* had a record of crossing the ocean only two minutes slower than the *Rex*. It is said here . . . that the *Savoia* will take the record away from the *Rex* . . ..

The trains here have two oil lights low down, like an auto. When the train is ready to start one man blows a whistle & then the conductor blows a horn & off it goes. . . .

Clark constantly urged his children to learn to speak French. "I regret that I cannot speak some French as it would help me here a great deal. I cannot read signs or menus."

A trip to the Orient was a lifetime adventure for Homer and Bessie Clark in 1914. Regrettably, no one saved his letters about the trip; only receipts he himself kept are in his papers. The Clarks purchased silk shirts and other silk items, and an ivory sculpture from Japan.

One souvenir indicates the Clarks rode the famous Orient Express. Hotels varied in cost from sixteen to twenty-two yen per day; Cuban cigars were thirty sen (1/100 of a Japanese yen) each. Both China and Japan were on their itinerary.

Bessie Clark's last trip to Europe with her husband was in 1922, when they took five-year old Robert Stuart and three-year old Kimball with them. After settling the children in a villa in Sorrento, Italy, with a nurse, the Clarks traveled leisurely to Rome and other points.

Homer Clark's last trip to Europe was with his daughter Catherine in 1947. Cathie tells about that trip: "I remember that, going over on the *Queen Mary*, I couldn't keep up with Dad's social life. They assigned us to the purser's table and he had a ball with everybody there. He'd keep going until late at night, and I would be exhausted. I was twenty-one and he was seventy-nine.

"I remember in England Dad was upset by the huge piles of shell cartons left over from the war; he felt strongly that these should be reprocessed, as England was so short of everything. He told people that the Waldorf Paper Company had developed a process whereby the cartons could be reused. He also looked closely into the needs of the people—Were they well-dressed? Did they have enough to eat? A British publisher invited Dad to lunch with the king's personal physician, and Dad reported to me with great satisfaction that the doctor had told him the national health had never been better.

"In Scotland, we visited an aged cousin of Mother's, ninety-year-old Andrew Stuart, who lived outside of Edinburgh. When we arrived, we were told the cousin had just left for the first cricket match of the season and we could go, too, without having to pay a shilling just by climbing a ladder against the fence. Well, Dad didn't quite think we should do that, so we paid our shilling, went into the match, and found the cousin, Mr. Stuart. When the match was over, up the ladder went Mr. Stuart, who gave me a hand up, too, but Dad went around by the gate.

"When we were in Paris, tourists were buying their money on the black market, but Dad, with his sense of responsibility and background with the Federal Reserve Bank and all, insisted that we buy at the legitimate rate and it was sheer murder. It was quite cold in Paris; the elevators only worked a few hours a day as the electricity was on only a few hours. But Dad was very happy to be reunited with the Samuel Dittenhoffers who had spent the entire war in Paris. They took him on a social whirl.

"We then went to Italy, his favorite spot. Again he went around asking what the condition of the people was, were they hungry, how well were they clothed, what was happening in this part of the country." The high point of the trip was their visit to Florence, which, Cathie said, she thinks her father loved as much as he loved Rome. Of course in Rome, Homer Clark had a chance to see, for the last time, his beloved St. Peter's Cathedral, with its pedimented dome. He had an equal liking for Minnesota's state capitol dome, which architect Cass Gilbert had designed after St. Peter's. He thought the Minnesota building the most beautiful of its kind in the world, and pointed out to his children that Gilbert had corrected what he considered flaws in St. Peter's Cathedral dome.

Homer Clark was to travel extensively in the United States after the 1947 trip, but never again abroad, a fact which undoubtedly was hard for him to bear, foreign travel having been such an integral part of his life. But if he grieved, no one knew it. He went on planning activities and projects that would keep him in life's mainstream.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

The World of Family Life

HOUGH HOMER P. CLARK married late in life, the winsome Elizabeth Turner Dunsmoor made the wait all worthwhile. He was devoted to her, and her love for him was equally deep. The Clarks were to share sixty years together. Without doubt, they enjoyed a more mature and serene happiness than most married couples. They agreed on what was important in life. Both espoused some of the best ideals of the Victorian age, such as modesty, conservatism, courtesy, patriotism, respect and love for one's family, and concern for others. Both held the marriage relationship in the highest regard and genuinely enjoyed each other.

Of course, they had different interests, as do all married couples. Homer Clark loved the sea and sailing. Bessie Clark was afraid of water and had been known to

suffer from seasickness even before a ship set sail! She liked horses and watched every horse race on television to the end of her life, though she did not approve of the betting that accompanied such events. She was also enthusiastic about dogs (an enthusiasm shared by her husband). "I have disciplined five children, and now I am going to spoil the dog," she announced, and spoil the dog she did.

Homer Clark, though quiet and undemonstrative, enjoyed being with friends. He was an appreciative man who liked to find and develop the good qualities of others. As for Bessie, she summoned the courage to invite friends for lunch only rarely, and years sometimes passed without an overnight guest at 534 Summit. (Bessie was so shy according to one of her daughters that even one of her best friends with whom she enjoyed daily telephone conversations had never been in her home until the day of Betty Clark's wedding.)

Clark was keen about sports and once entered a 100-mile bicycle race ten days after he learned to ride. He was one of the first to play tennis in St. Paul. He continued to curl until he was nearly ninety. Bessie had little interest in most sports.

The only difference between them of deep concern, however, was that of religion. Bessie had been raised as a Methodist in the conservative Trinitarian tradition, whereas Homer Clark had been brought up in the Boston Unitarian belief.

Before marrying Bessie, Clark had promised Mrs. Dunsmoor that he would never try to influence her daughter's spiritual beliefs. He carried out this promise to the letter, to the end of his life. He carefully avoided discussing his religious convictions with Bessie; the few brief discussions of his beliefs held with his children were instigated by them. (His children still do not know what constituted his beliefs. To his daughter it seemed that he lived by the ideals of the Roman stoics whom he admired.)

His attendance at Unity Church of St. Paul was faithful until the minister advocated pacifism from the pul-

pit, at which time he quietly stopped attending. (Robert and Kim Clark were in military service at the time.) He continued to attend services at the Unitarian church in Brewster, however, and to take an active interest in its physical maintenance.

For her part, Bessie Clark was never to stop hoping that her husband would be won over to her religious beliefs, though she said little directly to him about it. Instead, she introduced him to ministers and Christian leaders with the thought that their dedication and spiritual wisdom might persuade him.

Just how much this meant to her is revealed in a letter she wrote her husband in 1922 when she was ill and afraid she was going to die. The letter, found in Bessie Clark's papers after her death, was sealed and the instructions, "To Homer, if I should not live," written on the envelope.

My darling:

I haven't the slightest idea this letter will ever be needed but here is one more "I love you." You have made me so happy, dearest, and so proud to be your wife. I think you are almost perfect and it is happiness to be near you, to see and watch you and know of the worthwhile and unselfish things you do. I love you so much and am glad to be certain you will miss me if I don't come through. If you want to remarry, that is entirely all right. I didn't used to be willing but now I am perfectly but only be sure that it is someone who will be just to my babies and not jealous of them.

You know the one thing I still would like in the world is for you to if possible believe in one of the orthodox churches. If you can't dear, will you anyway have my babies taught these beliefs.

What good times we have had together and what fun—think of me happily and as having thoroughly enjoyed these years—miss me but don't grieve too much for me. I would much rather have had the joy and love and consideration you have given me and have it end sooner than to have a much longer life and not so bright and assured.

I know the new baby will be a happiness to you and Bobbie we surely know all about. Love them both a great deal for me. Goodbye my dear one. I love you so much.

Devotedly,

Bessie

There is no way to know whether Homer Clark ever read the letter. The seal was unbroken, but the envelope had been opened. We do know that Clark did not change his religious views. (Bessie, of course, was to live a rich and happy life for many more years and have three more children.)

In matters of discipline, the parents presented a united front. The only way their children had of suspecting a difference between them was that their father would not have his usual logical reasons to support a decision. On those occasions when Clark did not agree with his wife, the decision, however, stood firm.

Throughout their married life, Homer Clark was unfailingly supportive of Bessie. His daughters are unable to remember his saying any word of unkindness to or about her, or even admitting any differences. Helen MacGregor can remember one instance—and one only—when he briefly conceded, "Your Mother is a little strong on that."

He greatly respected her wishes and even foibles, such as her shyness of company and preference that he not enter politics, and she appreciated his unfailing kindness in this and other matters. She adored Homer and rushed eagerly to welcome her "Manny" every afternoon with a private kiss and a number of eager questions about his day. ("Manny" was Bessie's private nickname for her husband.) However, Bessie was not reluctant to let him know when she disagreed with him. Since he was deaf in one ear, her children occasionally heard their mother's firm voice saying, "Ho-MER, *Please!*" But that was about the strongest language that came from her. She was very aware that she couldn't match her husband's kindness and reasonable-

ness, and serene in the knowledge that he fully accepted her and was amused by her wittiness and occasional lighthearted actions.

Both partners in the marriage worked hard to adjust to each other's preferences, Clark admittedly having to do a great deal more compensating than his wife (his major adjustments were to a lack of social life and not being able to go into politics).

Mrs. Jennie Baker, who worked for the Clarks from 1930 through 1971, reminisced about Clark's efforts in this direction after his death:

> Mrs. Clark didn't like the smell of cigar smoke so he didn't smoke in the living room. He used to come out into the back hall to smoke his cigars. I'd be working in the laundry beside the back hall, so we had a chance to discuss everything while I was doing the laundry. Mrs. Clark didn't approve of cocktails, and so instead of having a cocktail at the table, he'd come into the pantry and have his drink there just before the meal. He wasn't one to drink much, just a small cocktail before meals. He was such a nice man, and he was thoughtful of his wife's wishes because he knew she really didn't approve of smoking or drinking.

The first months of the Clarks' married life were spent in an elegant apartment at the new St. Paul Hotel, following a three-month honeymoon in Europe the winter of 1910. On the honeymoon, Clark thoroughly spoiled his bride, just as her mother and father had before him.

While living at the hotel in downtown St. Paul, Bessie passed the time by shopping with her mother and visiting members of her family in Minneapolis. The times were peaceful and prosperous; St. Paul was a vital, growing city and a pleasant place in which to live. What made it exciting to Bessie was that her husband was involved in nearly every step of the city's growth.

The Clarks did not start their family for several years and fortunately so, for Bessie's sake. During their second year of marriage (1912), Bessie was to lose both her mother and only brother. The deaths of these people so dear to her were devastating experiences.

Mrs. Dunsmoor had been seriously ill in 1909 after major surgery in Chicago. While in the Chicago hospital, Mrs. Dunsmoor, fearing she was dying, called Homer Clark to her bedside and made him promise that no matter what happened to her, he should marry Bessie and take good care of her. "I can tell by the expression on your face how much you love my little girl," Mrs. Dunsmoor said. Later she wrote Clark, "Take good care of Bessie and don't be cross with her; she cannot stand crossness."

Mrs. Dunsmoor was to recover from this illness, but died in January, 1912, at the home of her daughter Bessie at 629 Summit Avenue, St. Paul.[1] Her family was unprepared for their loss, and their grief was especially hard to bear knowing that Laton, the only remaining Dunsmoor son, was dying of tuberculosis.[2] He had contracted the disease while attending Yale University. When the diagnosis became definite, Dr. Dunsmoor told Bessie, "I've lost my son." Nevertheless, he tried all of the possibilities known to save him—serum, rest, change of climate, higher altitude, the seashore—all to no avail.

During the winter of 1911, Fred Dunsmoor asked his daughter and son-in-law if Bessie could accompany Laton to Ormond, Florida, in the hope that the climate would restore his health. The elder Dunsmoor could not take his son himself; he had to take care of his surgical practice located at 100 Andrus Building, Minneapolis. Knowing what a difficult task this was for his sensitive, shy daughter, he wrote her on March 9, 1911, to give her courage:

Darling Bessie:

Homer is to dine with me tomorrow and we shall try to console each other for your absence. I am wondering if you

1. Mrs. Dunsmoor died of cancer. Apparently Bessie was caring for her mother the last few months in her St. Paul home.

2. Laton was the fifth child in the family to die of a lung ailment. Bessie was prone to difficulty with her lungs as well, including pneumonia and a brush with tuberculosis.

are good and happy all the time. I confess, too, that I have hysterical attacks myself and have allowed them sometimes to sadly mar my confidence in my ability and to nearly stop my work.

Then I take a big brace on myself and pass straight on and defy any doubt, fear or impending dizziness to prevent my carrying on my work. There is no fun in it, but a big satisfaction in having conquered. You are my blood. You must do better than I do. You are younger and have so many to help you. I wouldn't dare say to anyone who was near how weak and faint I have felt when I had to go on or fail. I will tell you more sometime but you must succeed in all that we have outlined for you. Don't give up. Don't worry.

Now I am kissing you. Don't let Laton stay in the surf over five minutes and keep out if he feels any pressure on his chest. Love you both dearly,

Your old Daddy

In the winter of 1911–12, Dr. Dunsmoor sent his son to Colorado, this time asking his daughter Marjorie to go with him. When Mrs. Dunsmoor died on January 21, 1912, Marjorie and Laton were unable to be at their mother's side. The poignancy of this sorrowful year is reflected in letters found in the Clark papers. In a diary given Bessie for Christmas in 1911, there are few entries for 1912 except for these: "January 21, Mother died at 1:15 in morning; January 22, Funeral; December 1, 1912, Laton died, December 2, Funeral."

In an effort to ease Bessie's sorrow after her mother's death, Homer Clark took his wife on a trip South, and visited his mother, Martha, in Daytona, Florida, along the way.

"Out to see Berryhill house," is another of the few entries in the 1912 diary. The Berryhill house, at 541 Portland Avenue, St. Paul, was rented as the Clarks' second home. Here, during the very early years of their marriage, the Clarks occasionally entertained the C. W. Ameses, L. P. Ordways, and others in the Clarks' circle of friends, and members of their own immediate families. (By 1920, however, the Clarks were entertaining very infrequently, nor did Bessie enjoy going to parties, es-

pecially in the Jazz Age when mores in the United States were drastically changing.)

Homer and Bessie Clark spent the summers of these early married years at Cape Cod. After they had children, Mrs. Clark took them to California for the winters for their health. Her husband could not join her in California very often, but he kept in close touch through letters and telegrams. In California, Mrs. Clark enjoyed motoring through the California countryside, doing the driving herself. Some of the children protested that they became carsick so they were allowed to stay behind with a nurse. Mrs. Clark always liked driving a car. People at West Publishing Company remember Homer Clark being picked up after work by "a beautiful young woman driving a Packard." Clark saw to it that she had driving lessons from a garage shortly after they were married. (He also arranged for her to be instructed in investments.) Clark liked to keep his cars for 10 or more years; Bessie liked a new one more often, preferably a sporty (but practical) car.

The Clarks' first child, Robert Stuart Clark, was born during World War I, on October 31, 1917. (Ironically, he was to die in wartime, in World War II.) Bessie had been driving a Red Cross car during the war before Robert was born; when she became pregnant, she agreed with her husband that she should stay home. Homer Clark was deeply involved in the Liberty Loan drives when Robert was born, a position that required a great deal of traveling, so he did not see his son as often as he wished.

During the next few years, the Clarks had four more children—Thomas Kimball, born October 6, 1921; Elizabeth Turner, on October 19, 1923; Catherine Pierce, on December 12, 1925; and Helen Dunsmoor, on January 1, 1928.

Homer and Bessie Clark now had their work cut out for them for twenty years, as they reared five lively children. For Clark, now in his fifties, the task was to be decidedly challenging as well as absorbing. Nothing in his background had prepared him for raising children, but he rose gallantly to the challenge, took them swimming

and sailing in Minnesota and Cape Cod, ran their toy trains and other mechanical toys with them, played tennis with them, and generally devoted as much time as he could spare to help Bessie bring them up. For the Clarks much of the challenge in raising their children in the twenties and thirties was to adapt to the drastically changing mores without losing their Victorian beliefs. They were forced to accept many new ideas in order to keep pace with their children, and there is every evidence they succeeded in staying reasonably flexible. There were minor problems, of course, but Bessie and Homer Clark were too wise and loving to let their differences of opinion affect their family's happiness. The "battles" they lost with their children were lost graciously and whenever possible with a sense of humor.

As the family grew, so did the household staff. A chauffeur, a governess, a nurse, and several maids were added to the Clark menage, which in 1921 moved into a modest mansion on Summit Avenue. It was the first house that Homer Clark owned, and in view of the fact that he was very knowledgeable about architecture and also an admirer of beautiful buildings, his choice of 534 Summit was a little surprising.

From the outside the house could not boast of much beauty. Its drab stucco finish and lack of graceful lines could in no way compete with other elegant, imposing mansions on the open and sweeping boulevard named Summit, such as the Queen Anne style residence of C. B. Thurston, 495 Summit, built in 1881, or the Romanesque house of Clark's friends, the Edward N. Saunderses at 323 Summit. The house at 534 Summit was built in 1882, a year when many new residences were being built on the Summit. Built by a man named A. M. Radcliffe, the first owner of 534 was W. J. S. Trail; the original cost, nine thousand dollars. It is one of only a handful of homes on Summit that cannot boast a specific architectural style. A minister owned the house when the Clarks bought it.

One must see pictures of Summit Avenue to realize how different it once looked. In the nineteenth century, Summit was an open, expansive boulevard sweeping

west toward the Mississippi River "wilds". Mansions built on this high ridge had a stunning panoramic view of the unplatted hills behind them and the city around them. As the newly planted trees along the boulevard were so small the view down the avenue to the west was open as far as the eye could see. The 1880s were times of extensive house building on Summit: sixteen homes were built in the same year that 534 was erected, but there still were few homes beyond the 700 block. Romanesque, Tuscan Villa, Queen Anne, and Tudor Villa were the popular architectural styles. By 1921, the year the Clarks moved into 534 Summit, the avenue was built up to the Mississippi River.

The Clark children today explain that the house their mother really wanted was the Ordway home at 475 Summit, but she felt her husband could not afford it as he needed his capital for West Publishing Company. Clark did not believe in going into debt, so settled for the undistinguished 534 house which, however, had a comfortable floor plan and several bathrooms, and in the long run was completely satisfactory to Bessie Clark. The interior belied the drabness of the exterior. There was an airy, glassed-in sun porch off from a large and graciously designed living room; a large dining room commanding a restful view of lawn and trees to the west; many bedrooms, each with bath, and quarters for the domestic staff on the third floor. A small swimming pool was built at the back of the house later; a large carriage house was converted into a three-car garage.

The years of the twenties, thirties and early forties were happy, glowing years at 534 Summit.

There were the growing up years for the children: much laughter and some tears, stifled giggles over silly jokes; cars squeezing through the narrow west portico originally built for carriages; dips into the little swimming pool behind the house as soon as the weather allowed, summers at Cape Cod; sailing and swimming in Cape Cod Bay and Nantucket Sound. School at Summit for Betty, Cathie, and Helen; Saint Paul Academy for Bob and Kim, and later Choate and Westminster boarding schools in the East. Football and hockey, piano re-

citals, parties at school. Rides to school in Blunderbore (the family car) with their father. Trips to California, to Europe, and other faraway places. Operettas on a snow slide in the yard.

The years passed quickly. Homer Clark took his five high-spirited children in stride, teaching them all to be independent and to live a full life. The Clarks brought their children up to be intellectually curious, frugal as their New England ancestors, knowledgeable about domestic and world affairs, private with their griefs, and practical in their approach to life's challenges. All of their lessons were not to "take," of course, for these twentieth century children developed their own ways of thinking and doing and rejected some of their parents' Victorian teachings. What was important was that the Clark children were free to be themselves, and they were always grateful to their parents for allowing them this freedom.

There were the war years: college and trying their wings for Betty, Cathie, and Helen. War for Kim and Bob. Betty attended Wellesley, earning her Bachelor of Arts in 1945. Cathie went to Bryn Mawr and later to Yale University Graduate School of Nursing and the University of Minnesota. Helen first graduated from Wellesley, and then from Fuller Theological Seminary, with further graduate work at Johns Hopkins University.

Pointing out that he had no dependents to suffer financially if he were killed, Bob volunteered for the navy many months before the United States entered the war. His work in intelligence brought him in contact with Winston Churchill and took him to Ireland where he commissioned the headquarters for the United States. Kim joined the seagoing marines as soon as he could. Both boys were undoubtedly influenced in their choice of service by their family's deep interest in sailing and the Clark ancestry of famous sea captains.

During World War II there were still summers at Cape Cod, but gasoline rationing limited travel by car. Homer Clark never asked for more than the minimum, though his children thought his years of service to his

country in various capacities had earned him the right to a larger ration. Because of rationing, the Clarks could not attend all college events, or even their children's graduations, but there were no complaints; conserving gasoline was a patriotic duty.

Robert Stuart Clark was reported missing in action, then reported killed while serving on the S.S. *DeHaven,* February 1, 1943. There were only shock and sorrow, both to be dealt with privately. Thomas Kimball Clark was to survive World War II, and there was gratitude for that in the hearts of the remaining Clarks—his parents and sisters.

There were the years of romance and marriage: three weddings within three years kept the Clark household happily hectic between 1947 and 1950. Kim married Elizabeth Taggart Griggs, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin G. Griggs, St. Paul, on March 1, 1947, in the Church of St. John the Evangelist. On May 27, 1950, Betty was married to Albert Blank, son of Mr. and Mrs. Harry Blank of Brooklyn, New York, at the Clark family home, 534 Summit Avenue; on December 24, 1950, Catherine married Richard Clark Kroeger, Jr., son of Mrs. R. C. Kroeger of Bronxville, New York and the late Mr. Kroeger. On August 24, 1957, when Homer Clark was eighty-eight, he escorted Helen down the aisle of the First Baptist Church of West Harwich, Massachusetts, to marry Donald MacGregor, son of Mrs. James Bruce MacGregor of East Brewster, and the late Mr. MacGregor. The weddings brought joy again for the family, and soon grandchildren to love and visit—fourteen in all.

But sorrow was again to engulf the Clarks in 1955 when Kim contracted polio. These were sad years. (Kim had also gone through a divorce in 1954–55.) All members of the Clark family spent as much time as they could with Kim in Boston when he was in Massachusetts General Hospital. Kim returned to Brewster in a respirator. In 1956 he and Mary Healy of Brewster were married, and Mary nursed him devotedly until his death in 1959. (Mary also cared for Kim's daughter Patty, who had gone through troubled times in school because her learn-

ing potential had been misdiagnosed by many educators.) [3]

When Kim died Homer Clark was ninety years old and still traveling and working a few hours a day at West Publishing Company and on private business matters.

Memories from their years at 534 Summit are vivid in the minds of the three Clark children still living, memories best recounted in their own words. They describe a warm, open affectionate family life; a father who liked laughter, fun, jokes, little games; a mother sensitive, tender, witty, gracious.

Life in the thirties and forties at 534 Summit Avenue, St. Paul, is described by Helen: "We all had bicycles and we had a skating rink on the side yard at 534. We also had a big slide, over ten feet tall. You pulled your sled up a ramp with treads on it, and when you went down the slide, the sled would zip across the entire lawn and across the sidewalk, and if the sidewalks hadn't been cleared of snow, you could slide all the way down Oakland Avenue. There was a platform at the top of the slide and we used to put on our own little operettas on the platform, with kids climbing up the sides and singing from the 'balcony.' There were slanted boards up the sides of the slide to keep us from going over the edge.

"Dad was likely to give us a lot of freedom, Mother not so much. For instance, in the sixth grade when I was going to a party down the street on Summit Avenue, Mother made me cross the street in front of our house while she watched and then cross the street again in front of my friend's house rather than go across the traffic by the University Club at the top of Ramsey Street Hill. She didn't want me crossing Summit Avenue often—this at the same time I was sailing our boat in the ocean and had rescued a boy from drowning two miles out!

"On the subject of discipline, Father would never break with Mother. There was an absolute, united front.

"Sometimes his 'disciplining' was indirect. One night my brother Bob was at a friend's house in Brewster and it was getting late. Maybe Dad thought Bob ought to be

3. Patty Clark was killed in a car accident on April 19, 1971.

home, or Mother did, so Dad took the beach wagon, drove by the friend's house and saw that Bob's car was there, satisfying himself that all was well. He didn't go to the door, just drove by. Bob and his girl friend saw the light of Dad's cigar, the outline of his familiar hat and the station wagon, and Bob knew it was time to go home. Dad didn't make any fuss about it. Just satisfied himself that Bob was O.K.

"I remember once when my husband, Don, and I were taking Mother and Father to the train in Boston, the car broke down not far from the Dorchester Yacht Club. Dad got out, sat down on the curb, and began to peacefully smoke a cigar. Before long, he was pointing out that he had been born less than a mile from the spot and was entertaining the police and repairmen with stories of his childhood."

Another story Helen recalls is about a ride across New York City with a load of goats. "Dad's cousin, Thomas Cochran, was a missionary in Labrador. Dad once helped him take a load of goats from one New York railroad station to another by putting the goats in a taxi and hauling them across town. Apparently the goats were to provide people at the mission in Labrador with milk."

Helen Clark MacGregor talked about the darker days of the family. " 'Bob Clark' is a common name and the government had sent Bob's death notice to the wrong family. Not knowing of his death, Mother was getting ready for Bob to come home because when a ship was destroyed, (in this case, the *DeHaven*) the crew got a month's leave. We were all waiting for him. Of course, he didn't come. It was Saturday afternoon when the word came through. Cathie and I were still in school and when it came time for us to go to Summit, Dad said, 'Now you go back to school and don't talk about this. Everyone has someone in the service that they are worried about, and they all have distresses. Don't add to their burden.' So we went back to school and we didn't mention Bob's death.

"I guess his admonition did carry over because when my husband, Don, died, it was a Friday morning and I came back to my children and told them. They were kept

home from school until I could get there. They were having exams at school and so I asked them if they could go back to school. They both said 'yes,' and went back and took the exams. But one of their little friends was so torn up that she flunked her tests."

Betty Clark Blank put her memories down in a letter to her father for the *Homer Clark Testimonial Book* given him by friends on his ninety-second birthday. She wrote:

Dear Dad—

I hope I can put on paper some of my favorite memories—such as your singing of the 'Lorelei' to us and telling us the story of it. And our Sunday afternoon rides to see such things as the 'curly' bridge or Fort Snelling. The morning rides to school in 'Blunderbore' (the family car—each had a name) were always great fun as all five children piled in with you and (in the winter) we all shivered until we reached Mr. Prince's house and we could turn on the car heater. I remember how delighted I was when I was the one who was allowed to ride 'on the shelf.'

The way you taught each of us children . . . endurance swimming was wonderfully subtle. I didn't understand the reason for it at the time, but I did know that when I was learning to swim, somehow when you and I swam out over my head together, the conversation would get especially fascinating. I felt that I just had to stay there and hear what else you had to say even though it was awfully hard work for me to tread water and float at that stage. It was training that I have been most thankful for.

Speaking of water sports, will you ever forget how often I jammed the centerboard on the *Zephyrine*, or the time that Cathie set the spinnaker backwards?

I still am amused when I remember the family tennis games we used to have with you and me against Bob and Kim. I was such a terrible player that the only chance our 'team' had even against Bob and Kim's unpretentious games was for me to get out of the way (we called it 'playing net') and let you receive all the returns.

You taught us your high principles not by 'preaching' but by your example, which was much more effective.

Catherine Clark Kroeger describes the family's love for sailing, a love fostered and fanned into flame by their father.

"We had the *Zephyrine* at Cape Cod, a wonderful old boat that they've been designing for fifty years. The rumor was that you could get $1,000—it's now up to $2,000—if you could tip her over. It was a safe boat and we used to take it out in all kinds of outrageous weather in the hope that it could be turned over, but it didn't work.

"As my brothers grew older and more adventurous, they wanted to take us on longer and longer cruises, and Dad was nervous about this. He wanted a boat that would be more suitable for long cruises so he went to John Alden, a boat builder and designer in Boston. Alden designed the *Zodiac* for us, a boat which had both speed and safety. Dad took great interest in the building of the *Zodiac*. There were four berths, a forward cabin, head, kitchen with two bunks. Its overall length was 42½ feet. Mother said that the only time she saw the boat during construction she had to ask which way the thing was headed!

"While it was being built during the summer of 1938, Dad took Kim and Bob abroad. It has occurred to me since that one reason for the trip was that the *Zodiac* wasn't finished and he wanted to keep the boys off the *Zephyrine*.

"I remember how thrilled Dad was when at last the *Zodiac* was ready and we could sail her. She had a motor, besides sails. My brother Bob, who was a very good navigator, and Kim started to race her; they discovered to their great joy that she could win; she was fast. They loved to race. They raced the Kennedy family and others around the Cape islands—Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket—winning a Nantucket Light race in 1939 and 1940, and I think a Block Island race. Anyone winning three years running of the Nantucket would retire the cup. The war came at that point and the races were off when the war began. But the 'tinware' had begun to accumulate to Bob and Kim, and Dad was very proud of them. After the war, Kim used to sail the *Zodiac*, but not

for racing because he didn't really have an efficient racing crew.

"I remember that Dad told Bob, 'Don't ever set a sail and leave it. Play it, see if you can get more out of it.' This is why she did so well on the long distance races. They played it and they would win. Kim was an absolute cat when it came to climbing up the rigging. The spinnaker could be set in less than a minute."

Homer Clark sailed often with his boys, taking a great interest in teaching them to handle the *Zodiac* and in teaching all of his children to sail.

Recalls Cathie: "I can remember that he would sit for hours watching me sail the small boat and when I came in he would tell me about the mistakes I'd made. He wanted us to know how to swim and how to sail at a young age because he knew we were going to be around water. Once when I was little I toppled over in the water when I was swimming—it was a big wave or I lost my footing—and he was in a great hurry to get me out of the water because he didn't want swimming or the water to frighten a child. Later he sat me down and said, 'Now, there isn't anything in the water to be frightened of.' "

Catherine recalls how carefully her mother trained the Clark children in good manners and etiquette, and how, at one point, she decided they could all benefit from a good example. She invited their good friends, Laura and Anita Furness, to dinner and instructed the children to watch them closely and note their table manners.

Martha Clark's husband, however, was so amused by this incident that he not only told the Misses Furness what had transpired, but concocted a puckish plan with their help. Once again a dinner invitation was issued to the Furness sisters. When they arrived and sat down to dinner they proceeded to "throw the book away," recounts Cathie, putting on what apparently was a virtuoso performance in bad table manners. Before it was over, Homer Clark had to explain to the puzzled Bessie and to his confused children that this had been his and the Furness sisters' little joke.

Cathie also describes the snowmen the Clark children used to create on their lawn in the staid Summit Avenue neighborhood. "We liked to make outrageous snowmen and the more flamboyant or sillier we made them, the better Dad would like it. Then he'd wait to see what all his friends who saw it would say. He'd think it was a very poor day if somebody hadn't commented on his children's creative efforts."

Martha Clark had tremendous charm and wit, according to her children. Funny or cute expressions sprang to her lips spontaneously. Often she quickly came up with a quotation from some book when one of the children wanted to do something or protest something. Helen remembers her irreverently quoting from *Kidnapped,* "Be supple, Davie, in all things immaterial!" If a toilet clogged, for example, she'd be apt to quip, "Chuck it under the chin! That will make it work!"

Reminiscing after he died about her life with Homer Clark, Bessie Clark said, "He was a splendid father. The children loved and respected him. He would play with them, and he liked to talk to them. He wanted them to understand the world. He was kindly, but he could be very firm. He kept the same quiet river underneath. When he was amused, you couldn't tell how amused he was unless you watched him.

"He enjoyed fun. Theodore Griggs was a great pal of Homer's and they joined things together. Homer belonged to all the clubs and he knew so many people. He had a remarkable memory. He could remember jokes and sometimes he would almost choke himself laughing quietly. But he had a great deal of dignity, too. People respected him. I think people trusted him. Of course, everyone wouldn't agree with what he believed, but they had confidence in him. He had the gift of friendship and of receiving it. He tried to give people a feeling of confidence." This was especially true of his relationship with his children, Mrs. Clark said. She described his teaching the children to swim: "They knew a little about swimming, but one day he wanted to take them down to the shore at Cape Cod and so I went down and sat on the shore and I cast a rather worried look because one of the

children was quite a little fellow. Homer took them out, not far, but so they couldn't possibly touch bottom, and they were playing with him and he was sputtering like a whale. I could hear their shouts as I sat there and watched them and they stayed and stayed out there. Finally, I called to Homer, 'You bring those children in,' and, of course, he did."

Betty Blank's letter to her father mentioned the family tennis games and Catherine Kroeger also recalls these games and other family activities, particularly in New England:

"He was the best tennis player in the family, even when he was seventy. He took us sailing. He was an excellent sailor. And he made sure we all learned to swim well. I remember getting my Red Cross badge when I was five years old for swimming fifty yards. I also remember what he would say to any child who was learning to swim —'Slowly . . . slowly . . . slowly.' I think he wanted to turn us into distance swimmers, which may be the reason I still enjoy distance swimming. He was always the one who got us into the water. He never forced us. I'm not quite sure how he managed to get us all in swimming so young, but he did."

Helen MacGregor described him as being an affectionate father and said:

"When he had criticism, he would wait, if possible, until he could give us a compliment first. Once I came downstairs wearing a pink dress that I liked very much but Dad apparently did not, perhaps because he thought it somewhat flamboyant. At any rate, he commented on how much he liked a conservative style of dress and how much he admired another dress I had. He was hinting that he wished I'd change my dress."

He began early to train his children in self-reliance in a variety of areas. Helen MacGregor recalls a story of how her father was riding with her brother, Bob, and a man in front of them signaled for a right turn, made a left turn, "and plowed into Dad." Homer Clark sent Bob down to court with several toy cars to demonstrate what had happened, and Bob won his case. He was not much over six years old at that time.

Catherine Kroeger remembered that her father loved to play hide-and-seek with his children. "When I was born he was fifty-seven years old, so my memories of him chasing us around the house and playing hide-and-seek with us are from the time he was sixty and over. He'd also play 'ride-a-cock horse' on his foot. I remember how disappointed I was when he finally told me—with my third child, I think—that he really wasn't young enough anymore to swing a child on his foot.

"He used to love to feint and pretend-box with us. It was more of a slapping game than boxing. He was very light and quick on his feet into his seventies, and that was what was so frustrating. He could beat us, not only in tennis but in simple games, such as the one in which we put our hands together with his and then tried to get our hands away before he could slap them. He was much quicker than we were. His reflexes were tremendously fast, even when he was in his eighties."

Mrs. Kroeger recalled some interests her mother and father did and did not share.

"They'd go antiquing together. Mother was definitely not interested in sailing, which he loved. She didn't like the water. It made her seasick. She loved horses, and Dad always thought horses were dangerous. My sister Betty loved to ride, and I liked horses, too, but Dad couldn't see that. In politics Dad was more active, but Mother was very much interested, and both were interested in following football games. Mother didn't care to sit and freeze. Dad would take us to the University of Minnesota games and Mother would stay home and listen to the radio. But there certainly were vigorous discussions, once he got home.

"They shared many civic concerns. Interestingly enough, they hit upon a plan which they decided would be most helpful, that if one of them decided to give to a worthy cause, the other would not give to the same cause. That way, they could make their money go twice as far. They checked out various causes and they had personal reasons for the choices they made.

"Of course, they were discouraged about the number of appeals they would get. I know Mother would say,

'Please don't send me your begging mail. Don't waste your money that way.' Dad was swamped with appeals but he always felt a moral obligation to open every piece of mail that came to him and read it through. He always said that, if people send it, you're obliged to open it and read it."

Mrs. Kroeger recalled her father's "great interest in history." He felt it was a living tradition and that the way it is really passed on is by taking children to the spot where it actually happened. His favorite Sunday occupation, she said, was driving the children around historic areas and telling them the stories of what had happened there. She, like Betty Blank, recalled visits to the "curly" bridge, the famous spiral bridge at Hastings which was demolished some years ago. And she described relationships within the family, and her parents' attitudes toward who should have certain responsibilities.

"Mother always said—and it was quite true—that when it was a really important decision, Dad's word was law. But in small things, she pretty well took over. The major decisions were Dad's—such things as college, for instance. And at the beginning of World War II, Dad helped my brother, Bob, decide about the service. Bob loved the sea, and he wanted to become a naval officer. The earth-shaking decisions of this kind were left almost completely up to Dad. He helped Bob, and I don't think Mother really had very much to do about it.

"When one of the servants had to be retired, Dad would make the arrangements. Repairs on the houses or the boats—all these major things were Dad's province, not Mother's. She stayed out of it and left it to him."

Mrs. Kroeger does not recall that her father took as specific an interest in his daughters' education as he did in that of his sons. However, his attitude toward women and their place in the world was remarkable for a man who, in many ways, lived a Victorian way of life. Mrs. Kroeger says:

"One of the things I'm most grateful for was his attitude toward women. He was very avant garde. I've always said that my father raised me to be a spitfire. Today we read about how women have been conditioned

to be passive, with the boys doing the important and active things. Dad made it very clear that he thought girls were just as good as boys, just as important, that they should have just as much spunk and individuality. I guess I was really a hippie before my time. I loved to run barefoot; I wore long hair when other people didn't; I was rather unconventional in my dress, and Dad applauded that. He got a kick out of it.

"He was concerned with our ongoing education, although he really didn't care what college we went to as long as we got a good education. There was no question but what he was deeply concerned that we further our educational opportunities to the best of our abilities. He was quite disappointed when I left my graduate studies at the University of Minnesota to enter the Yale School of Nursing. I had been doing classical studies and he had a great interest in classical history. But he wanted his daughters to make the very best of any intellectual opportunities they had."

He also taught his children how to responsibly face any problems that confronted them, and he instilled in them the courage of conviction. They have always been grateful for these and other lessons in living, and the deep interest their parents took in everything they did.

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Later Years

HOMER P. CLARK lived to be 102 and except for the last few years of his life, it was business as usual for him. Blessed with good health, he stayed in the mainstream of business, political, and civic life in St. Paul until he was ninety-eight, and even after retirement in 1966, retained his usual keen interest in everything going on around him. His pace in his eighties and nineties was slower, of course, but the indomitable spirit that had helped him meet previous challenges and difficulties stood him in good stead in his December years.

Memories of Clark in his last years at West Publishing Company are still bright in the minds of many employees, as in the firm he was a legend in his own time. Amazingly energetic in his nineties, Clark went to work

almost every day for at least a few hours. (Once he apologetically confessed that a "hot spell" had kept him home for a few days. Another time, when a blizzard closed the roads while he was at his office, he rode home on a snow plow, unfortunately injuring his back in so doing.)

Each day when he arrived at West, chauffeured by someone in his family, a West employee would help him into the building where he spent a few minutes exchanging pleasantries with the switchboard operator and others before making his way to his office. He was an excellent story teller all of his life and a good listener as well. When something struck him funny, he would laugh so hard that his whole body shook, but so quietly he could scarcely be heard. Once in his office, he always donned a green eye shade and lit a good-sized cigar before settling down to his old rolltop desk to work. Soon clouds of smoke swirled around his head, making the sight even more unusual because he was the only West employee allowed to smoke in his office.

One of Clark's few concessions to his advanced age was his refusal to go out in the evenings to meetings or social events. He preferred to spend the time at home with his wife and family. His social life was at the Minnesota Club where he lunched and exchanged news with friends every work day. Often he would spend the entire afternoon at the club after his morning at West Publishing, sitting in the lounge or lobby so he could chat with people as they came and went, always eager to hear more about what was happening in St. Paul and elsewhere. Carrying on a conversation was not easy for him because of his hearing impairment which had grown worse with passing years, but chatting with friends was a pleasure he did not relinquish.

When Clark approached the age of 100, friends wanted to stage a big surprise birthday party for him, but his family, knowing he would want no public fuss over the occasion, planned a private celebration at his home instead. Relatives and friends were invited to the open house to wish him a happy birthday. For the celebration, Cathie Clark Kroeger, the only one of Clark's chil-

dren living in St. Paul, had 100 individual cakes made using the same recipe of unrefined sugar and flour and fruit that had been used for the cake served on the day Homer was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, on July 6, 1868. Cathie's decision to have individual cakes baked instead of one large one was prompted by events at the party given her father for his birthday the year before. At that time she had given him a huge chocolate cake shaped in the replica of the ship his great-grandfather Isaac Clark had sailed from Cape Cod to Archangel in 1799, the first ship to fly the American flag in a Russian port after the American Revolution. Her father had been so enthralled with that cake he refused to let it be cut. He kept the cake in the parlor for six months so he could look at it.

In his declining years at home Clark spent much of his time listening to the news and sports events—especially the Minnesota Twins games—and visiting with his friends by telephone. Also, members of his family read aloud to him, and intellectually curious as always, he would often say, "Let me have a little more on that, please."

Another pleasant diversion provided for him by his family after he could no longer drive his own car (at eighty-eight) was driving him through St. Paul's historic sections so he could look at the houses and buildings he knew so well. His niece, Martha Putnam Holman, who was one of the family members who chauffeured for him on these drives, remembers how he admired the fine old mansions on Summit Avenue and in the Ramsey Hill and Crocus Hill areas, and how he loved to go to Holly Avenue where he had spent his bachelor years (his former home at 467 Holly is occupied and beautifully kept up by the present owners). His family drove him, too, to see the log cabin (now a paint shop) on Exchange Street where his parents had first lived, to see the state capitol, and other historic sites which were an inseparable part of his own history. Architectural beauty had always appealed to him and he retained his interest in fine buildings all of his life. His daughters remember he used to say that St. Paul was unusual for

a city of its size because it had so many beautiful structures. The St. Paul Public Library, Nazareth Hall, St. Luke's Church on Summit Avenue, and of course, Cass Gilbert's state capitol, were among his favorites.

During the last years of Clark's life, his wife, Bessie, devoted all of her time to his care, her deep spiritual faith sustaining her in the difficult months when she knew she would lose her beloved husband of sixty years, and her children their devoted father.

Clark died on October 27, 1970, at his home, and funeral services were held at the House of Hope Presbyterian Church on October 30, 1970. (Mrs. Clark died on July 3, 1977, also at home, and funeral services were held for her at House of Hope on July 7, 1977.)

St. Paul felt the loss of its "first citizen" keenly, for Homer Clark had touched the lives of many during his long life, through his wise guidance, private generosity, civic effort, and inspirational example. Messages of sympathy poured in from all parts of the country.

The essence of what his family, friends, and community lost can be drawn from the message on a plaque which was hanging on the wall of Clark's bedroom where he spent his last days. The plaque, a cherished tribute from West associates on his one-hundredth birthday, reads simply: "100 Years—Homer P. Clark: Scholar, Business Associate, Civic Leader, Gentleman, Kind and Loyal Friend."

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William Fallon

Michael Galvin

Carl Herbert

Mrs. John (Martha Clark Putnam) Holman

Archie Jackson

Mrs. Richard (Catherine Clark) Kroeger

Mrs. Donald (Helen Clark) MacGregor

William Marvin

John Myers

Dr. Walter Ramsey

Nels Sandberg

Paul Schilling

Roger Shepard

Harold Stassen

Thomas Clarke	married	Susanna Ring
1599–1697	1634	

Born in England near end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. Came to Plymouth Colony on ship *Anne* in 1623.

Andrew Clarke	married	Mehitable Scotto
1635–1706	1651	1648–1712

Moved to Boston with father, Thomas Clarke, who bought him a house there and he went into the shoe business. Was an assistant counselor and several times a representative to the General Court in Boston. Moved to Harwich where he and his father were the general proprietors of the town.

Thomas Clarke	married	Sarah Grey
1672–1759	1699	1680–1756

Born in Boston, but went to Harwich with his father about 1694. In 1699, was made high constable, also served as selectman from 1704–1723. He and his father were large land own-

ers. Their property is said to have extended across the Cape from sea to sea. Through their land ran Stony and Bound Brooks on which they had mills. A long and expensive lawsuit with the Winslows for these mill privileges is said to have impoverished Thomas Clarke. Harwich records him as "Lieut." Thomas Clarke.

Seth Clarke	married	Huldah Doane
1709–1795	1727	

Seth is described as a "passionate" man in contrast to his father's "even, peaceful" disposition.

Kimball Clark [1]	married	Mary Paddock
1734–1801	1760	1739–1789

Kimball was a great reader, according to the Clark genealogy, and was especially fond of the Greek and Roman classics, which he read from English translations. So fond of these classics was he, that he persuaded his children to name three of his grandchildren Seneca, Strabo, and Paulina.

Isaac Clark	married	Temperance Sears
1761–1819	1789	1764–1859

A sea captain who built his home in a part of Harwich which became a part of Brewster in 1803. House is still in Clark family, a New England historical site. Part of lumber of house brought by Captain Clark from Archangel, Russia, in his ship.

Lot Clark	married	Mary Bonner
1796–1880		1803–1880

Charles Henry Clark	married	Martha Cowper Pierce
1836–1907	1866	1837–1929

Born in Boston (Dorchester), worked in import business. Went to St. Paul, Minnesota at 17 to work in Charles Mayo's hard-

[1] The *e* now dropped from family name. Lived in a low, double house in what is now Brewster, Massachusetts. Later his son, Isaac Clark, built a house next door to his father. Property originally in Harwich, but became part of Brewster in 1803.

ware business. In 1866 moved back to Boston for 7 years, then back to St. Paul permanently with his wife, Martha, and son Homer. Worked in real estate as well as hardware business during St. Paul's early boom years.

Homer Pierce Clark	married	Elizabeth Turner Dunsmoor
1868–1970	1910	1883–1977

Born in Boston but moved with his family to St. Paul when he was four years old.

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